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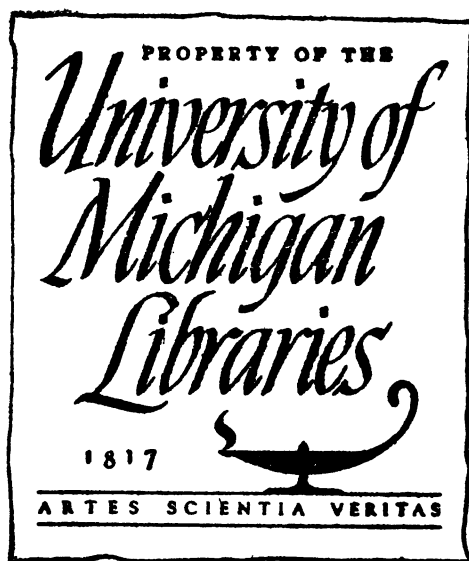
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OFFICERS, DELEGATES AND PATRONS OF THE
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF THE UNITED STATES,
SECOND TRIENNIAL SESSION, WASHINGTON, D. C., FEBRUARY, 1895.

HISTORY AND MINUTES

OF THE

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN
OF THE UNITED STATES,

ORGANIZED IN WASHINGTON, D. C., MARCH 31, 1888.

EDITED BY

LOUISE BARNUM ROBBINS,

Corresponding Secretary.

BY ORDER OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COUNCIL.



BOSTON, MASS.:

E. B. STILLINGS & Co., 55 SUDBURY STREET.

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PREFACE.

“INFINITE riches in a little room.” This volume is the record of an organization whose aim is to advance “greater unity of thought, sympathy and purpose.”

It has been my inspiring duty and happy privilege to place in this volume the record of the harmonious union of a large number of organized bodies of women.

It is a history of learning the forgetfulness of the things that divide, in remembering the greater things that unite.

I have prepared these pages with the hope that they may be a clear exposition of the origin, aims, ideals, methods and work of this harmonizing, inspiring organization — the National Council of Women of the United States.

To this volume, which is rich in materials, I have given a labor of love, and I send it forth with the hope that it may hasten the day when “Lead, Kindly Light,” shall unite all hearts in noble endeavor.

I send it forth with the prayer that it may speed the realization of that dream of a great poet, which so beautifully expresses unity and sympathy in human needs :

“I dreamed
That stone by stone I reared a sacred fane,
A temple; neither Pagod, Mosque, nor Church,
But loftier, simpler, always open-doored
To every breath of Heaven; and Truth, and Peace,
And Love, and Justice came and dwelt therein.”

LOUISE BARNUM ROBBINS.

ADRIAN, MICH., March 31, 1898.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE present volume contains the history of the National Council of Women of the United States, from its inception and organization to this time, as recorded in the minutes of its executive sessions, and as set forth in the formal calls, addresses and official documents issued from time to time.

The report of the origin and organization of the National Council which appears in the following chapter is obtained from the published report entitled "Report of the International Council of Women, 1888."

The report of the First Triennial of the National Council held in Washington in 1891, with a *résumé* of the work accomplished in the interim, is obtained from the volume published "Transactions of the National Council of Women of the United States, 1891."

The record of the work of the National Council, from 1891 to date, is derived from the minutes of the various executive meetings, from the official documents issued, all of which are essential to the completion of the history, and from the "The Historical *Résumé* of the World's Congress of Representative Women."

This work has been prepared with the intention that not only the fundamental and specific idea of the National Council of Women may be clearly set forth, but also that its work, its scope and outlook, its opportunities, growing influence and broad measures may be presented.

It has been prepared with the hope that not only its high ideals may be elucidated, but that also its brave, true helpfulness in unanimity of service for humanity, and its unvarying sympathy for all that is good in human endeavor may have just recognition and support.

HISTORY AND MINUTES
OF THE
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF THE
UNITED STATES.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORY OF THE ORIGIN OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF THE UNITED STATES, TAKEN FROM THE REPORT OF THE INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN, Convened in Washington, D.C., March 25, 1888.

Visiting England and France in the spring of 1882, Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton conceived the idea of an International Council of Women interested in the movement for suffrage, and pressed its consideration on the leading reformers in those countries. A few accepted the idea, and when Miss Susan B. Anthony arrived in England, some months later, they discussed the question fully with each other; and, seeing that such a convention was both advisable and practicable, they resolved to call it in the near future.

On the eve of their departure from England, at a reception given them in Liverpool, the subject was presented and favorably received. Among the guests were Priscilla Bright McLaren, Margaret Bright Lucas, Alice Scatcherd and Margaret E. Parker. The initiative steps for an International Council were then taken and a committee of correspondence appointed. The following is the report of the action prepared that evening by Mrs. Parker: "At a large and influential gathering of the friends of woman suffrage, at Parliament Terrace, Liverpool, November 16, 1883, convened by E. Whittle, M.D., to meet Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Miss Susan B. Anthony prior to their return to America, a resolution was proposed by Mrs. Margaret E. Parker of Penketh (near Warrington), seconded by Mrs. McLaren of Edinburgh, and unanimously passed:

"That this meeting, recognizing that union is strength and that the time has come when women all over the world should unite in the just demand for their political enfranchisement; therefore

"*Resolved*, That we do here appoint a Committee of Correspondence, preparatory to forming an International Woman Suffrage Association.

"*Resolved*, That the committee consist of the following friends, with power to add to their number:

"*For the American Center* — Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Miss Susan B. Anthony, Miss Rachel G. Foster. *London Center* — Mrs. Peter A. Taylor, Mrs. Margaret B. Lucas, Miss Helen Taylor, Miss Henrietta Muller, Miss Caroline A. Biggs, Mr. and Mrs. Charles McLaren, Miss Eliza Orme, Miss Rebecca Moore, London; Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch, Basingstoke. *Manchester Center* — Mr. and Mrs. Jacob Bright, Manchester; Mr. and Mrs. J. P. Thomasson, Bolton; Mrs. Margaret E. Parker, Penketh; Dr. and Mrs. Whittle, Liverpool; Mrs. Oliver Scatcherd, Leeds; Mr. and Mrs. Walter McLaren, Bradford; Mrs. Philips, Liverpool; Mr. and Mrs. Crook, Bolton; Mr. Berners, Mr. Russell, Liverpool; Miss Becker, Manchester. *Bristol Center* — Mrs. Helen Bright Clarke, Street; Mrs. Alfred Ostler, Birmingham; Miss Priestman, Bristol. *Center for Scotland* — Mrs. Duncan McLaren, Mrs. Elizabeth Pease Nichol, Miss Eliza Wigham, Edinburgh. *Center for Ireland* — Miss Tod, Belfast; Mrs. Haslam, Dublin. *Center for France* — Mlle. Hubertine Auclert, Mr. and Mrs. Theodore Stanton, Charlotte B. Wilbour, Paris."

Returning to America, it was decided, in consultation with friends, to celebrate the fourth decade of the woman suffrage movement by calling an International Council. At its nineteenth annual convention, January, 1887, the National Woman Suffrage Association resolved to assume the entire responsibility and to extend the invitation to all associations of women in the trades, professions and reforms, as well as those advocating political rights.

The herculean task of making all the necessary arrangements fell chiefly on Miss Anthony, Miss Rachel G. Foster and Mrs. May Wright Sewall; Mrs. Stanton and Mrs. Spofford being in Europe. The preparations for this anniversary meeting, with its far reaching results, are told in the following: —

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF ARRANGEMENTS.

The Committee of Arrangements for the International Council of Women was appointed by the Executive Committee of the National

Woman Suffrage Association at its Nineteenth Annual Convention, held in Washington, January, 1887. The committee held its first meeting in Philadelphia early in February, at which the work was planned. June 1, the following call was issued, accompanied by an appeal for funds: —

INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN.

The first organized demand for equal educational, industrial, professional and political rights for women was made in a convention held at Seneca Falls, New York (U.S.A.), in the year 1848.

To celebrate the fortieth anniversary of this event, an International Council of Women will be convened under the auspices of the National Woman Suffrage Association, in Albaugh's Opera House, Washington, D.C., on March 25, 1888.

It is impossible to over-estimate the far-reaching influence of such a Council. An interchange of opinions on the great questions now agitating the world will rouse women to new thought, will intensify their love of liberty, and will give them a realizing sense of the power of combination.

However the governments, religions, laws and customs of nations may differ, all are agreed on one point, namely, man's sovereignty in the State, in the Church and in the Home. In an International Council women may hope to devise new and more effective methods for securing the equality and justice which they have so long and so earnestly sought. Such a Council will impress the important lesson that the position of women anywhere affects their position everywhere. Much is said of universal brotherhood, but, for weal or for woe, more subtle and more binding is universal sisterhood.

Women, recognizing the disparity between their labors and their achievements, will no doubt agree that they have been trammelled by their political subordination. Those active in great philanthropic enterprises sooner or later realize that, so long as women are not acknowledged to be the political equals of men, their judgment on public questions will have but little weight.

It is, however, neither intended nor desired that discussions in the International Council shall be limited to questions touching the political rights of women. Formal invitations requesting the appointment of delegates will be issued to representative organizations in every department of woman's work. Literary Clubs, Art and Temperance Unions, Labor Leagues, Missionary, Peace and Moral Purity Societies, Charitable, Professional, Educational and Industrial Associations will thus

be offered equal opportunity with Suffrage Societies to be represented in what should be the ablest and most imposing body of women ever assembled.

The Council will continue eight days, and its fifteen public sessions will afford ample opportunity for reporting woman's work and progress in all parts of the world during the past forty years. It is hoped that all friends of the advancement of women will lend their support to this undertaking.

On behalf of the National Woman Suffrage Association.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, *President*,
8 W. 40th St., New York.
SUSAN B. ANTHONY, *First Vice-President*,
Rochester, N.Y.
MATILDA JOSLYN GAGE, *Second Vice-President*,
Fayetteville, N.Y.
MAY WRIGHT SEWALL, *Ch. Ex. Committee*,
343 N. Penn. St., Indianapolis, Ind.
ELLEN H. SHELDON, *Recording Secretary*,
811 9th St. N.W., Washington, D.C.
JANE H. SPOFFORD, *Treasurer*,
Riggs House, Washington, D.C.
RACHEL G. FOSTER, *Cor. Secretary*,
748 N. 19th St., Philadelphia, Pa.

June 1, 1887.

During July and August the greater part of the official invitations were sent out to the associations selected as being of either national scope or national value. Invitations (official) were also extended to a number of women, who, as individuals, were considered representative of lines of work not yet organized.

The complete list of associations invited, which accepted, and were represented in the Council, is as follows:

1. NATIONAL WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION,
Frances E. Willard, Clara Cleghorne Hoffman, Susan H. Barney.
2. WORLD'S WOMAN'S TEMPERANCE UNION,
Hannah Whitall Smith.
3. TORONTO WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION,
Mary McDonell, Bessie Starr Keefer.
4. EDINBURGH TEMPERANCE ASSOCIATION,
Laura Ormiston Chant.
5. BRITISH WOMEN'S TEMPERANCE ASSOCIATION,
Laura Ormiston Chant.
6. NATIONAL TEMPERANCE HOSPITAL AND MEDICAL COLLEGE ASSOCIATION,
Dr. Mary Weeks Burnett.

7. WOMEN'S AUXILIARY CONFERENCE OF THE UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION,
Isabel C. Barrows.
8. WESTERN WOMEN'S UNITARIAN CONFERENCE,
Victoria Richardson.
9. WOMEN'S MINISTERIAL CONFERENCE,
Rev. Ada C. Bowles.
10. WOMAN'S FREE BAPTIST ASSOCIATION,
Marilla M. Hills, M. M. Brewster.
11. CHRISTIAN WOMEN'S BOARD OF MISSIONS,
Kate B. Moore, Cordie B. Knowles.
12. WOMAN'S CENTENARY ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSALIST CHURCH,
M. M. Dean, Emily L. Sherwood.
13. LADIES OF THE GRAND ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC,
Laura McNeir.
14. WOMAN'S RELIEF CORPS, AUXILIARY TO THE GRAND ARMY OF THE
REPUBLIC, E. Florence Barker.
15. AMERICAN RED CROSS SOCIETY,
Clara Barton.
16. FRENCH WOMAN'S UNION FOR THE CARE OF THE WOUNDED,
Isabelle Bogelot.
17. WORK OF THE LIBERATED OF ST. LAZARE,
Isabelle Bogelot.
18. WOMEN'S PRIMARY ASSOCIATION, UTAH,
Nettie Y. Snell.
19. YOUNG LADIES' MUTUAL IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION, UTAH,
Luella L. Young.
20. WOMEN'S RELIEF ASSOCIATION, UTAH,
Emily S. Richards.
21. WOMAN'S NATIONAL INDIAN ASSOCIATION,
Amelia S. Quinton.
22. AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION,
Lucy Stone, Mary A. Livermore, Rev. Antoinette Brown Blackwell.
23. SCHOOL SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION, MASSACHUSETTS,
Martha A. Everett.
24. EDINBURGH NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.
Alice Scatcherd, Laura Ormiston Chant.
25. GLASGOW WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION,
Laura Ormiston Chant.
26. WOMAN SUFFRAGE SOCIETY, FRANCE,
Isabelle Bogelot.
27. NORWEGIAN WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETY,
Sophia Magelsson Groth.
28. WESTERN ASSOCIATION OF COLLEGIATE ALUMNÆ,
Louisa Reed Stowell.

-
29. ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF WOMEN,
Julia Ward Howe, Mary F. Eastman.
 30. FINNISH WOMEN'S UNION,
Alexandra Gripenberg.
 31. DANISH WOMAN'S ASSOCIATION,
Ada M. Frederiksen.
 32. WOMEN'S EDUCATIONAL AND INDUSTRIAL UNION (BOSTON),
Abby Morton Diaz.
 33. KNIGHTS OF LABOR,
Leonora M. Barry.
 34. THE GRANGE,
Fraternal Delegate: Anna M. Worden.
 - 35, 36, 37. DARLINGTON, YORKSHIRE, AND SOUTHPORT LIBERAL WOMEN'S
ASSOCIATIONS, ENGLAND, Alice Scatcherd.
 38. NEWCASTLE WOMEN'S LIBERAL ASSOCIATION (ENGLAND),
Mrs. Ashton Dilke
 39. MORAL EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY (BOSTON),
Caroline M. S. Frazar.
 40. NEW YORK COMMITTEE FOR PREVENTION OF STATE REGULATION OF VICE,
Anna Rice Powell.
 41. EDINBURGH BRANCH OF THE FEDERATION FOR REPEAL OF STATE REGU-
LATION OF VICE, Laura Ormiston Chant.
 42. NATIONAL VIGILANCE ASSOCIATION (ENGLAND),
Laura Ormiston Chant.
 43. EDINBURGH PURITY AND VIGILANCE ASSOCIATION,
Laura Ormiston Chant.
 44. DANISH WOMEN'S UNION FOR THE PROTECTION OF YOUNG GIRLS,
Ada M. Frederiksen.
 45. SOROSIS,
M. Louise Thomas, Jennie C. Croly.
 46. SOCIOLOGIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA,
Lita Barney Sayles.
 47. UNIVERSAL PEACE UNION,
Rev. Amanda Deyo.
 48. WOMEN'S PEACE AND INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION SOCIETY (ENGLAND)
Laura Ormiston Chant.
 49. PROHIBITION MOVEMENT OF GREAT BRITAIN,
Zadel B. Gustafson.
 50. WOMAN'S NATIONAL PRESS ASSOCIATION,
Aurelia Hadley Mohl.
 51. WOMAN'S INTERNATIONAL PRESS ASSOCIATION,
Martha R. Field.
 52. NEW ENGLAND HOSPITAL FOR WOMEN AND CHILDREN,
Ednah D. Cheney.
 53. NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION,
Elizabeth Cady Stanton, *President*, Susan B. Anthony, *Delegate*.

The complete list of associations invited which did not accept is as follows:

1. ASSOCIATION OF COLLEGIATE ALUMNÆ.
2. SOCIETY TO ENCOURAGE STUDIES AT HOME.
3. SOCIETY FOR COLLEGIATE INSTRUCTION OF WOMEN.
4. WOMEN'S STATE FAIR ASSOCIATION (Indiana).
5. BRITISH NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.
6. SOMERSET CLUB (London).
7. PRIMROSE LEAGUE (England).
8. SOCIETY FOR HIGHER EDUCATION (England).
9. GERMAN WOMEN'S UNION.
10. CANADIAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.
11. ORDER OF THE EASTERN STAR (Freemasons).
12. DAUGHTERS OF REBEKAH (Odd Fellows).
13. BAPTIST WOMEN'S MISSIONARY SOCIETIES (Home and Foreign).
14. METHODIST WOMEN'S MISSIONARY SOCIETIES (Home and Foreign).
15. CONGREGATIONAL WOMEN'S MISSIONARY SOCIETIES (Home and Foreign).
16. PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL WOMEN'S MISSIONARY SOCIETIES (Home and Foreign).
17. SOCIETY FOR THE AMELIORATION OF THE CONDITION OF WOMEN AND THE CLAIMING OF THEIR RIGHTS.
18. LEAGUE FOR THE PROTECTION OF WOMEN (France).
19. INTERNATIONAL UNION OF THE FRIENDS OF YOUNG GIRLS (France).
20. WORK IN THE PROTESTANT PRISONS (France).
21. SOCIETY OF ASSOCIATED SCHOOLS (Copenhagen).
22. POLITICAL CLUB (Copenhagen).
23. WOMEN'S READING CLUBS (Denmark).
24. STUDENTS' ASSOCIATION (Denmark).

Early in December the committee met in Indianapolis and the general programme of the proceedings was there outlined. The months intervening between this meeting and March 25, were devoted to correspondence with the delegates and official guests, in relation to their topics, time and position upon the programme. Miss Anthony went to Washington in January, where she was joined in February by Miss Rachel G. Foster, the headquarters of the Council being the Riggs House. March 10, it was decided, after correspondence with Mrs. Clara B. Colby, to issue the *Woman's Tribune* daily during the Council, and announcement of this was accordingly made.

The delegates were requested to meet with the Committee of Arrangements the afternoon of Saturday, March 24, in the Red Parlor of the Riggs House. At 3 P.M. they were called to order by Miss

Anthony, chairman of the Committee of Arrangements. Of the forty-eight duly accredited delegates a majority were present. After the preliminary business, Mrs. May Wright Sewall, at the request of the chairman, stated briefly her plan of forming, as a fitting result of the present Council, two permanent organizations, National and International, which should make possible, at regular intervals, representative meetings of the same character. Mrs. Sewall then moved: That a committee be appointed to consider the question of National and International Councils, and to report to the delegates a basis of organization.

In the discussion of the question, the following persons participated: Frances E. Willard, Mary A. Livermore, Julia Ward Howe, Ednah D. Cheney, Lucy Stone, Mary F. Eastman, Rev. Ada C. Bowles, Alice Scatterd, Alexandra Gripenberg, Hannah Whitall Smith, Lita Barney Sayles, Rev. Antoinette B. Blackwell, May Wright Sewall and Rachel Foster. Mrs. Sewall's motion was passed, and it was further decided that the committee should consist of fifteen persons appointed by the chair, and that it should be prepared to report to a delegate meeting on Saturday afternoon, March 31. At the close of the session Monday, March 26, Miss Anthony announced the appointment of the Committee on Organization as follows: Frances E. Willard, Victoria M. Richardson, Rev. Ada C. Bowles, M. Louise Thomas, Clara Barton, Rachel G. Foster, Mary F. Eastman, May Wright Sewall, Martha R. Field, Bessie Starr Keefer, Alice Scatterd, Laura Ormiston Chant, Isabella Bogelot, Sophia Magelsson Groth, Alexandra Gripenberg. The Committee on Organization was authorized to appoint a committee of nine on Nominations, said committee to report only in case the delegates' meeting should decide to organize the permanent councils. After some discussion, but no further official action, the meeting adjourned.

The Committee on Organization met Tuesday, March 27, at 9 A.M. After discussion, a resolution in favor of the formation of a National and an International Council was passed. Miss Willard presented an outline of constitutions for the two Councils which was referred to a sub-committee of three, consisting of Miss Willard, Miss Eastman and Mrs. Sewall. A Committee on Nominations was nominated from the floor and elected as follows: Chairman, Clara Barton; M. Louise Thomas, Mary F. Eastman, May Wright Sewall, Leonora M. Barry, Clara Cleghorne Hoffman, Frances E. Willard, Ada C. Bowles, Rachel G. Foster. It was voted that Miss Willard, as chairman of the Committee on Organization, should request Miss Anthony to call a meeting of the delegates, at the adjournment of the public session that morning in

order that this committee might ask the power to add the foreign delegates to the Committee on Nominations for the nomination of officers for the International Council. Adjourned.

The second delegates' meeting took place on the platform of Albaugh's Opera House at the close of the public session of Tuesday morning, March 27. A quorum having been secured, Miss Anthony called the meeting to order. Miss Willard presented the request of the Committee on Organization, which was unanimously approved; after which the meeting adjourned. The persons added were: Alice Scatcherd, Laura Ormiston Chant and Mrs. Ashton Dilke, England; S. Magelsson Groth, Norway; Alexandra Gripenberg, Finland; Mrs. McDonell and Bessie Starr Keefer, Canada; Zadel Barnes Gustafson, England; Isabelle Bogelot, France.

Wednesday, March 28, the Committee on Organization met at 9 A.M., when a draft of preamble and constitutions was presented, discussed and referred again to the sub-committee on Constitution. Adjourned.

At one o'clock on Wednesday the Committee on Nominations met in the private dining-room of the Riggs House. Officers were first nominated for the proposed International Council. This done, the foreign delegates withdrew, and the home delegates nominated the officers for a National Council of the United States. Adjourned.

Saturday, March 31, at 9 A.M., the Committee on Organization met and adopted the report of the sub-committee on Constitution.

Saturday, March 31, at 3 P.M., in the Red Parlor of the Riggs House, the third delegates' meeting was convened. Miss Willard, chairman of the Committee on Organization, read the following:

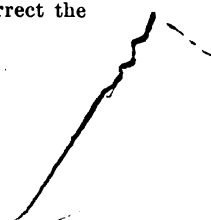
REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION.

To the Delegates:

Mindful of the high duties entrusted to its care, your committee has earnestly addressed itself to the problem of a National and an International Council of Women — first, as to the practicability of forming two such great organizations, in which should be included the organized working forces of the world's womanhood, and, secondly, as to their object and method.

As a result of our deliberations, we respectfully report:

Firstly. We [Mrs. Scatcherd dissenting as to the International] are strongly in favor of such a federation — National and International — believing that it will incalculably increase the world's sum total of womanly courage, efficiency and *esprit de corps*; that it will widen our horizon, correct the



tendency to an exaggerated impression of one's own work as compared with that of others, and put the wisdom and experience of each at the service of all.

Secondly. We suggest that the form of organization be the simplest possible, following the general plan of the present Council, and to this end we offer forms of constitution, adapted to a National and to an International Council of Women.

Chairman, FRANCES E. WILLARD; VICTORIA RICHARDSON, ADA C. BOWLES, M. LOUISE THOMAS, CLARA BARTON, MARY F. EASTMAN, MAY WRIGHT SEWALL, MARTHA R. FIELD, BESSIE STARR KEEFER, ALICE SCATCHERD, MRS. ASHTON DILKE, ISABELLE BOGELOT, LAURA ORMISTON CHANT, S. MAGELSSON GROTH, ALEXANDRA GRIPENBERG; *Secretary,* RACHEL G. FOSTER.

The constitutions which follow were read as a whole.* It was then moved and carried to act upon the preamble and articles *seriatim*, as also upon the recommendations. They were adopted as reported by the committee, with the exception of the change of the word "biennial" to "triennial," in Articles IV., V. and VI. of the National Constitution, and of the word "quadrennial" to "quinquennial," in the corresponding articles of the Constitution of the International Council.

CONSTITUTION OF THE
WOMAN'S NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE UNITED STATES,
ORGANIZED AT WASHINGTON, D. C., MARCH 31, 1888.

PREAMBLE.

We, women of the United States, sincerely believing that the best good of our homes and nation will be advanced by our own greater unity of thought, sympathy and purpose, and that an organized movement of women will best conserve the highest good of the family and the State, do hereby band ourselves together in a confederation of workers committed to the overthrow of all forms of ignorance and injustice, and to the application of the Golden Rule to society, custom and law.

That we may more successfully prosecute the work, we adopt the following

* During the discussion of the report of the Committee on Organization, Mrs. Alice Scatcherd and Mrs. Ashton Dilke requested leave to withdraw, as they did not desire to assume any responsibility in the formation of the International Council.

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.

Name.

This federation shall be called the Woman's National Council of the United States.

ARTICLE II.

General Policy.

This Council is organized in the interest of no one propaganda, and has no power over its auxiliaries beyond that of suggestion and sympathy; therefore, no society voting to become auxiliary to this Council, shall thereby render itself liable to be interfered with in respect to its complete organic unity, independence or methods of work, or be committed to any principle or method of any other society or to any utterance or act of the Council itself, beyond compliance with the terms of this Constitution.

ARTICLE III.

Officers.

The officers shall be a President, Vice-President at Large, Corresponding Secretary, Recording Secretary and Treasurer. Each president of an auxiliary society shall be *ex officio* Vice-President of the National Council and the President of the National Council shall be *ex officio* Vice-President of the International Council.

The five general officers, with the Vice-Presidents, shall constitute an Executive Committee, of which seven members shall make a quorum, to control and provide for the general interests of the Council.

ARTICLE IV.

Auxiliaries.

Any society of women, the nature of whose work is satisfactory to the Executive Committee, either as to its undoubtedly national character or national value, may become auxiliary to this Council by its own vote and by the payment of a sum amounting to half a cent yearly per member, in addition to a payment of twenty-five dollars, into the treasury of the National Council not later than three months prior to its triennial meetings.

ARTICLE V.

Meetings.

The National Council shall hold triennial meetings. The Committee of Arrangements shall be composed of the Executive Committee and one delegate chosen by each auxiliary society as its representative.

ARTICLE VI.

This Constitution may be altered or amended by a majority vote of the Council at any triennial meeting, printed notice thereof having been sent to each member of the Executive Committee at least three months prior to such meeting.

CONSTITUTION OF THE
INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN,

ORGANIZED AT WASHINGTON, D. C., UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
MARCH 31, 1888.

PREAMBLE.

We, women of all nations, sincerely believing that the best good of humanity will be advanced by greater unity of thought, sympathy and purpose, and that an organized movement of women will best conserve the highest good of the family and the State, do hereby band ourselves together in a confederation of workers committed to the overthrow of all forms of ignorance and injustice, and to the application of the Golden Rule to society, custom and law.

That we may more successfully prosecute the work, we adopt the following

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.

Name.

This federation shall be called the International Council of Women.

ARTICLE II.

General Policy.

This International Council is organized in the interest of no one propaganda, and has no power over its auxiliaries beyond that of suggestion and sympathy; therefore, no National Council voting to become auxiliary to the International, shall thereby render itself liable to be interfered with in respect to its complete organic unity, independence, or methods of work, or shall be committed to any principle or method of any other Council, or to any utterance or act of this International Council, beyond compliance with the terms of this Constitution.

ARTICLE III.

Officers.

The officers shall be a President, Vice-President at Large, Corresponding Secretary, Recording Secretary, and Treasurer. Each President of a National Council shall be *ex officio* Vice-President of the International Council.

The five general officers, with the Vice-Presidents, shall constitute an Executive Committee, of which seven members shall make a quorum, to control and provide for the general interests of the International Council.

ARTICLE IV.

Auxiliaries.

Any National Council may become auxiliary to the International Council by its own vote and by the payment of one hundred dollars every five years. This sum shall be paid into the treasury of the International Council not later than three months prior to its quinquennial meetings.

ARTICLE V.

Meetings.

The International Council shall hold quinquennial meetings. The Committee of Arrangements shall be composed of the Executive Committee and one delegate from each National Council.

ARTICLE VI.

This Constitution may be altered or amended by a majority vote of the Council at any quinquennial meeting, printed notice thereof having been sent to each member of the Executive Committee at least three months prior to such meeting.

RECOMMENDATIONS.*

First. That the general officers of the National Council be instructed to issue an address at once, to the women of the United States, setting forth the objects of this new organization.

Second. That the general officers of each association secure, if possible, a letter of approval of the organization, signed by representative women of all countries, urging the co-operation of all women, irrespective of race or creed, to be used in connection with the official address.

Third. That the general officers of both National and International Councils be instructed to enact By-Laws for their guidance, which shall be valid until the first regular meeting of each council shall be held: Provided, That no By-Law shall be passed which is not in exact accord with the Constitution.

Fourth. That a clause be inserted into either the Constitution or By-Laws, providing that no person shall occupy the office of President two consecutive terms.

Unanimously adopted.

After the adoption of these constitutions Miss Barton, as chairman of the Committee on Nominations, brought in her report. The vote was taken by ballot, separately, upon the officers of each Council. The result was the election of the tickets reported by the committee, as follows:—

OFFICERS OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL.

President:

FRANCES E. WILLARD, Illinois.
Evanston.

Vice-President-at-Large:

SUSAN B. ANTHONY, New York.
Rochester.

Corresponding Secretary:

MAY WRIGHT SEWALL, Indiana.
343 North Pennsylvania Street, Indianapolis.

*These recommendations refer to both organizations.

Recording Secretary :

MARY F. EASTMAN, Massachusetts.
Tewksbury.

Treasurer :

M. LOUISE THOMAS, New York.
Thomas Avenue, Fordham.

OFFICERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL.

President :

MILLICENT GARRETT FAWCETT, England.
2 Gower Street, London.

Vice-President-at-Large :

CLARA BARTON, America.
Washington, D.C.

Corresponding Secretary :

RACHEL G. FOSTER, America.
748 N. Nineteenth Street, Philadelphia.

Recording Secretary :

KIRSTINE FREDERIKSEN, Denmark.
4 Kastaniewej, Copenhagen.

Treasurer :

ISABELLE BOGELOT, France.
4 Rue Ferrault, Paris.

A committee was appointed to prepare a letter to be given to the press as the expression of this Council, said committee to report to the next meeting. Adjourned.

The fourth delegates' meeting (thirty present) convened at the Riggs House Monday afternoon, April 2, Miss Anthony presiding. Miss Willard, as chairman of the committee, presented the report on Official Letter of the Council. The report produced an animated discussion, in which almost every person present took part. It was finally decided, by a vote of twenty-one to seven, to appoint a new committee (Miss Willard being about to leave the city could not serve further) to draft a brief official statement of the points upon which the Council was one in sentiment. This committee consisted of Mrs. Sewall, Miss Eastman and Miss Foster. It was agreed that when the meeting adjourned it should be to convene Tuesday, April 3, at 9 A.M., to receive their report.

A resolution was passed authorizing the Secretary to forward a letter of appreciation to the various foreign associations which had sent delegates to the Council; also a letter, accompanied by the report, to every female sovereign (reigning or consort) in all the countries of the world, expressing pleasure in their delegates, or regret that none had been sent. The Secretary was also authorized to send cablegrams of greeting from the Council to President and Madam Carnot, France; Victoria, Empress of Germany; the Crown Princess of Denmark; Mrs. Priscilla Bright McLaren, Mrs. Josephine Butler, Mrs. Jacob Bright and Mrs. Elmy of England.

A most cordial expression of thanks was passed by a rising vote to Mr. and Mrs. C. W. Spofford for their exceeding kindness and hospitality to all the members of the Council, and a committee — consisting of Mrs. Stanton, Mrs. Elizabeth L. Saxon and Miss Foster — was appointed to arrange a testimonial to be presented to Mrs. Spofford on behalf of the delegates.* A vote of thanks was passed to the Committee of Arrangements. Adjourned.

The fifth and final meeting of the delegates was held at 9 A.M., Tuesday, April 3, Miss Anthony in the chair. The report of the committee was presented by Mrs. Sewall as follows:

OFFICIAL STATEMENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL.

The International Council of Women, in session in the city of Washington from March 25 to April 1, inclusive, in closing makes public announcement that fifty-three different organizations† of women have been represented on its platform by eighty speakers and forty-nine delegates from England, France, Norway, Denmark, Finland, India, Canada, and the United States. All of these organizations but four are of national scope, and these are of national value. The subjects of Education, Philanthropies, Temperance, Industries, Professions, Organization, Legal Conditions, Social Purity, Political Conditions and Religion have been discussed. While no restriction has been placed upon the fullest expression of the most widely divergent views upon these vital questions of the age, it is cause for rejoicing that the sessions, both executive and public, have been absolutely without friction.

*The result of the committee's consultation was the presentation to Mrs. Spofford of a gold monogram pin — I. C. W. — and a handsomely-framed photographic group of the members of the Council. Mrs. Spofford desired the Secretary to convey to the delegates her thanks for these pleasant souvenirs of that, to her, delightful occasion.

† See list pages 4, 5, 6.

It is the unanimous voice of the Council, that all institutions of learning and of professional instruction, including schools of theology, law and medicine, should, in the interests of humanity, be as freely opened to women as to men; that opportunities for industrial training should be as generally and liberally provided for one sex as for the other, and the representatives of organized womanhood in this Council will steadily demand that in all avocations in which both men and women engage equal wages shall be paid for equal work; and, finally, that an enlightened society should demand, as the only adequate expression of the high civilization which it is its office to establish and maintain, an identical standard of personal purity and morality for men and women.

This report was unanimously accepted and the Secretary directed to give it to the press and have it printed for circulation. Adjourned.

A reference to some of the details of the management may serve to give an idea of the magnitude of the work.*

Many social attentions were shown the organizers, the delegates and the guests of this International Council of Women. Of these three may be especially mentioned here.

Friday, March 30, at 3 p.m., the President and Mrs. Cleveland received the Council and its visitors, and over fifteen hundred persons called at the Executive Mansion.

*The magnitude of the work of the Council may be better appreciated by a mention of a few figures in this connection. There were printed and distributed by mail 10,000 Calls (four pages each); 10,000 Appeals (two pages each); sketches were prepared of the lives and work of a number of the delegates and circulated by means of a Press Committee of over ninety persons in various cities of many States. March 10, the first edition (5,000) of the sixteen page programme was issued; this was followed by five other editions of 5,000 each and a final, seventh edition of 7,000 copies. Each edition required revision and the introduction of slight changes made necessary by changing conditions in the meeting. There were written in connection with the preparations about 4,000 letters. Including those concerning railroad rates, there were not less than 10,000 more circulars of various kinds printed and distributed. A low estimate of the number of pages thus issued (circulars, calls, programmes, etc.) gives 672,000. During the week of the Council and the Convention of the N. W. S. A. (April 3 and 4) the *Woman's Tribune* was published eight times (four days 16 pages; four days 12 pages), the daily edition averaging 12,500 copies.

The receipts from contributions and memberships were in round numbers \$5,000; from sale of seats and boxes at opera-house \$5,000, and from sale of daily *Woman's Tribune*, photographs and badges, collection, advertisements, etc., \$1,500, making a total of nearly \$12,000. The largest sums were from Julia T. Foster, \$400; Elizabeth Thompson, \$250; Mrs. Leland Stanford, \$200; Rachel G. Foster, \$200; and \$100 each from Adeline Thomson, Ellen Clark Sargent, Emma J. Bartol, Margaret Caine, Sarah Knox Goodrich, Mary Hamilton Williams, Lucy W. Curtis, Mary Gray Dow, Emily S. Richards, George W. Childs and Henry C. Parsons. The cost of the *Tribune* (printing, stenographic report, mailing, etc.) was over \$3,600; hall rent, \$1,800. When one considers the entertainment of so many officers, speakers and delegates, printing, postage, the salary of one clerk for a year (whose board was a contribution from Miss Adeline Thomson and Miss Julia Foster, of Philadelphia), and the thousand et cetera of such a meeting, the total cost of \$10,000 is not surprising. An international convention of men, held in Washington within a year, cost in round numbers \$50,000!

On Monday evening, April 2, Senator and Mrs. T. W. Palmer of Michigan gave a handsome reception to the foreign delegates. Eight hundred invitations were sent out to the members of the foreign legations, prominent government officials, and to the delegates and visitors to the Council, and more than a thousand persons availed themselves of the occasion to make the acquaintance of the distinguished foreign guests.

Tuesday afternoon, April 3, Senator and Mrs. Leland Stanford of California opened their elegant home to a reception in honor of the pioneers in the Woman Suffrage movement. In response to the many cards of invitation issued, hundreds of people gladly embraced this delightful opportunity to salute these brave women who have, at such cost to themselves, broadened and enriched the lives of the women of today.

The mallet which was used during the Council was presented to Miss Anthony by a Southern lady with the following letter :

NEW ORLEANS, LA., March 19, 1888.

DEAR MISS ANTHONY: Please accept the accompanying mallet, manufactured from the magnolia of Louisiana swamps, as a token of good will and fellowship from your Southern sister; and, if not better supplied, do her the honor of using it at the International Council of Women, over which you are to preside. Trusting that the results of the International Council may not only strengthen our suffrage cause, but equal the most sanguine expectations of all of its friends, I herein send my sincerest and heartiest "Godspeed" to the good work.

Yours fraternally,

ELIZA C. FERGUSON.

Letters, greetings and regrets were received from prominent citizens of many countries. A partial list is herewith annexed. In addition to letters already mentioned, greetings and regrets have been received from Mrs. Minna Cauer and Mrs. Betty Loeffgren, Helsingfors, Finland; Mrs. Alfhild Agrell, Mrs. Anna Charlotte Edgren-Leffler and Prof. Sonja Kowalewski, Stockholm; Miss Alma Akermark, Goteborg, Sweden; Mrs. Ragna Neilson and Miss Anna Rogstad, Christiania, Norway; Mrs. Antonie Løken and Miss Olany Løken, Throndjem, Norway; Signora Fanny Zampini Salazaro, Rome; Dr. Henriette Tiburtius, Berlin; Miss Kirstine Frederiksen and Miss Johanna Krebs, Copenhagen; Isabella O. Ford, Leeds, England; Mrs. Mentia Taylor, Lady F. W. Harberton and Mrs. Millicent Garrett Fawcett, London; Miss Eliza Kirkland, Edinburgh; Dr. Ewing Whittle, Liverpool; Dr. Laura Ross Wolcott.

CHAPTER II.

THE WOMAN'S NATIONAL COUNCIL.

AN ADDRESS*

TO THE ORGANIZATIONS OF WOMEN IN THE UNITED STATES.

The International Council of Women, held at Albaugh's Opera House, Washington, D.C., March 25 to April 1, 1888, convened by the National Woman Suffrage Association, addressed by nearly one hundred women from seven different countries, and representing fifty-three national societies, was the first attempt to unify the spirit and method of the world's organized womanhood. Under the nine general topics of Education, Philanthropy, Temperance, Industries, Professions, Legal Conditions, Political Conditions, Moral Education and Organization itself (as the essential prerequisite of the most effective work in all these lines) — a representative body of women took grave counsel together, and, without one dissonant note, the mighty chorus of harmonious purpose sounded through the civilized world. It is perfectly safe to say that never before did the nation's womanhood by a single demonstration so impress its thought, its sympathy and its purpose upon the public mind. This proved the well-nigh resistless power of associated effort. It was the harvest of forty years spent in seed sowing; the hour was ripe for it; an earlier effort would have been premature, if not impossible.

The chief outcome of this great meeting was a still wider evolution of woman's work. A permanent International Council was projected (to which none but National Councils can be eligible as auxiliaries), and a National Council for the United States was formed (to which none but National Associations within the United States can be eligible as auxiliaries). The names of the officers of the National Council are affixed to this address. The purpose of this National Council is thus stated in its constitution :

*This address to the organizations of women in the United States was issued by the officers of the Woman's National Council in November, 1888.

" We, women of the United States, sincerely believing that the best good of our homes and nation will be advanced by our own greater unity of thought, sympathy and purpose, and that an organized movement of women will best conserve the highest good of the family and the state, do hereby band ourselves together in a confederation of workers committed to the overthrow of all forms of ignorance and injustice, and to the application of the Golden Rule to society, custom and law."

The report of the committee that submitted this constitution contains this additional statement:

" We are strongly in favor of such a federation, believing that it will incalculably increase the world's sum total of womanly courage, efficiency and *esprit de corps*; that it will widen our horizon, correct the tendency to an exaggerated impression of one's own work as compared with that of others, and put the wisdom and experience of each at the service of all."

The cosmopolitan character of the Council is shown in Article II. of its constitution, which reads as follows:

" This Council is organized in the interest of no special propaganda, and has no power over its auxiliaries beyond that of suggestion and sympathy; therefore, no society voting to become auxiliary to this Council shall thereby render itself liable to be interfered with in respect to its complete organic unity, independence, or methods of work, or be committed to any principle or method of any other society, or to any utterance or act of the Council itself beyond compliance with the terms of this constitution."

These terms relate wholly to the conditions of membership, which are as follows:

" Any society of women, the nature of whose work is satisfactory to the Executive Committee, as to either its undoubtedly national character or national value, may become auxiliary to this Council by its own vote, and by the payment of a sum amounting to half a cent yearly per member, in addition to a triennial payment of twenty-five dollars*

*As all societies in the National Council are given equal representation in that body by its Constitution, without regard to the size of their membership, the general officers of the Council have unanimously decided to recommend a change in the Constitution at the first meeting of the Council, in 1891, by which a uniform triennial fee of \$100 shall be substituted for the annual and triennial fees above mentioned; and the general officers will assume the responsibility of admitting societies to membership on this new basis, if preferred, until such amendment can be passed upon at the first meeting of the Council.

into the treasury of the National Council, not later than three months prior to its triennial meetings."

Article III. reads as follows: "The officers shall be a President, Vice-President at Large, Corresponding Secretary, Recording Secretary and Treasurer. Each President of an auxiliary society shall be *ex officio* Vice-President of the National Council and the President of the National Council shall be *ex officio* Vice-President of the International Council. The five general officers, with the Vice-Presidents, shall constitute an Executive Committee, of which seven members shall make a quorum, to control and provide for the general interests of the Council."

The meetings of the National Council are to be triennial, and the Committee of Arrangements for them is composed of the Executive Committee and one delegate chosen by each auxiliary society as its representative.

This address is sent to all national organizations of women, earnestly inviting them to become auxiliary to the Council by formal action at their next Executive Session, to be reported to our Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. May Wright Sewall, Indianapolis, Ind.

THE LEADING OBJECT OF THIS NEW MOVEMENT is to aggregate all local societies *having the same object* into national societies eligible to auxiliaryship in the National Council of Women. For instance, the clubs organized by women in all the leading cities have thus far been isolated, but it is hoped that a convention will be called within a year to form a national federation of women's clubs; the influence of individual clubs would be increased by coming into such a federation, and the federation would be eligible to auxiliaryship in the National Council. The same is true of the women's protective agencies and many other excellent societies that have been organized, locally, but not as yet generally.

It is confidentially anticipated that all national organizations of women will within the next two years become auxiliary to the National Council, and be ready to participate through their representatives in the first triennial meeting of the Woman's National Council, to be held in Washington in the spring of 1891.

We also suggest the unification of all local societies into women's councils for each town or city, and the aggregation of all state societies into state and territorial councils, that this general plan of solidarity may be made helpful to the utmost possible degree, bringing women

of all sects and sections into mutual acquaintance, efficiency and fellowship. The simplicity of the plan is one of its chief advantages.

The Local Council of Women would be made up of the presidents of all societies of women in a given locality, and might have a headquarters of its own, with an office secretary, and hold meetings quarterly. This Council would naturally enter unitedly upon such lines of work as all the societies could agree upon. The State Council would naturally hold meetings annually. It is believed that such a plan of interaction, combined with the organic independence of each society, will broaden the outlook of individual members and lead to larger mutual toleration between organizations heretofore separate, and to a great degree non-sympathetic; that it will do away with the overlapping of plans that now leads to much waste of time and energy, and that its influence would be sufficient to secure almost any local reform either small or great.

As an illustration of the practical working of the plan, it may be stated that such a Council of women might, if it were the general desire, arrange for petitions from all societies of women in any given town or city asking that women should be placed on the school board; on the different boards entrusted with the care of public institutions for the defective, delinquent and dependent classes; asking for the admission of women to membership, and to an official standing, also, in local, county and state organizations, such as press associations, medical associations, Sunday-school and ecclesiastical associations, etc.; asking that the doors of such schools and colleges as are not yet open to women may be thrown open for their admission; asking for gymnastic and industrial training for girls in the public schools; asking for better protection for the home, and more judicious penalties for all crimes against girls and women. In short, Local and State Councils might take the same action in local and state affairs that the National Council will take regarding institutions and movements of national character and scope. It will be readily seen that greatly added force will come from any such movement, whether local, state or national, when it is backed by the *united* societies of the locality, state or nation, and that with a small expenditure of money and time, all these societies, while carrying on separately their own individual work for which they were organized, may also do an immense work for womanhood at large along the lines on which all can agree to unite in sympathy, influence and effort. To carry out such plans on so large a scale will require time, but there is every reason to believe that the women of the nation will persist in a quiet but intelligent endeavor,

having in view the ends herein stated, until success shall crown their great but altogether practicable movement.

Already the organizations of women in Chicago have formed a Local Council, and a similar movement has been inaugurated in Philadelphia, Detroit and Providence. Ohio and Kansas have organized State Councils.

Such unification of all local and state organizations will at once illustrate on a small scale what on a large scale the National Council is expected to accomplish for the welfare of humanity. But it is to be distinctly understood that under the constitution of the National Council only national societies of women are eligible to membership therein.

A form of constitution for Local and State Councils, and other hints and helps for organizing, will be furnished on application to Mrs. May Wright Sewall, Indianapolis, Ind., Corresponding Secretary of the Woman's National Council.

Editors, writers and speakers are all earnestly requested to further with their respective facilities the plans herein stated. But we here address ourselves especially to THE LEADERS AMONG WOMEN, urging upon their prayerful thought the possibilities of blessing bound up in the organized womanhood of our country — a country which surpasses all others in its bewildering danger and ineffable hope.

Women have never yet united in large numbers save for good purposes; it is safe to predict that they never will. Their isolation one from another is in the interest of brute force; their combination means the dominance of peace and spiritual power, the purification, protection and coronation of the home; and home is the shrine for whose sacred sake all that is good and true on earth exists. Happy are we who live to see the day when the women of our native land are clasping hands with a purpose so high and in a unity so holy, which may God bless.

FRANCES E. WILLARD, Evanston, Ill.,
President of the Woman's National Council.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY, Rochester, N Y.,
Vice-President at large.

M. LOUISE THOMAS, 680 Lexington Ave., New York City,
Treasurer.

MARY F. EASTMAN, Tewksbury, Mass.,
Recording Secretary.

MAY WRIGHT SEWALL, 343 N. Pennsylvania Street, Indianapolis, Ind.,
Corresponding Secretary.

CHAPTER III.

FIRST TRIENNIAL SESSION

OF THE

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF THE UNITED STATES.

Upon the organization of the National Council of Women, it was understood that its first triennial session should be held in the city of Washington, during the spring of 1891, and the responsibility of arranging this meeting was left in the hands of its general officers.

In October, 1890, the following call for the first assembling of the National Council of Women of the United States was issued: —

INDIANAPOLIS, IND., Oct. 6, 1890.

The National Council of Women of the United States, organized in the spring of 1888, will hold the first of the triennial meetings, provided for by its Constitution, the last of February, 1891. The meetings will be held in Albaugh's Opera House, Washington, D.C. They will open with a religious meeting on Sunday, and continue through the three following days,—in all, seven public sessions.

Eleven of the most important national organizations of women in the country have, since its organization, entered the Council, and it is hoped that many more will do so before the meeting of the Council.

So soon as any organization enters the Council its President becomes an acting Vice-President in the Council, and it has also the right to appoint one person to represent it on the Executive Board of the Council. This Board includes the general officers of the Council, together with the presidents of all organizations belonging to it, and one delegate besides its president from every organization. This Board constitutes also a committee of arrangements for the first triennial meeting of the Council.

All national organizations of women, interested in the advancement of women's work in education, philanthropy, reform and social culture, which have not yet entered the Council, are still earnestly solicited to send fraternal delegates to the February meeting.

To the end that no organization meeting the requirements specified in the Constitution of the National Council shall fail to receive invitations to send

such fraternal delegates, correspondence with such bodies is solicited by the officers of the National Council.

The Corresponding Secretary of the Council, whose address is given below, will gladly answer all inquiries addressed to her, and will see that every provision is made for the appropriate representation on the programme of the Council of all departments of work in whose prosecution the women of the country have effected national organizations,—that is, to quote from the Constitution of the Council, “organizations national either in character or in value.”

It is hoped that women interested in women's work will respond to this call, and give the aid necessary to render its first triennial meeting worthy of the objects in whose behalf the National Council was formed.

A specific call indicating exact dates and hours of the public and executive sessions, together with an outline of the programme, will soon appear.

FRANCES E. WILLARD, *President*,
Evanston, Ill.
SUSAN B. ANTHONY, *Vice-President*,
Rochester, N.Y.
MARY F. EASTMAN, *Recording Secretary*,
Tewksbury, Mass.
M. LOUISE THOMAS, *Treasurer*,
New York City, N.Y.
MAY WRIGHT SEWALL, *Corresponding Secretary*,
343 N. Pennsylvania Street, Indianapolis, Ind.

The “specific call” promised in this preliminary document was practically the programme of the first triennial session of the National Council, prepared after a voluminous correspondence, and which is reproduced from the “Transactions of the National Council of Women of the United States,” of 1891.

The following report is obtained from the same volume, and the national organizations which were present as members of the Council during the session of the First Triennial of the National Council of Women convened Feb. 23, 1891, are given in the list presented under Committee of Arrangements found on the following pages.

FIRST TRIENNIAL SESSION
OF THE
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF THE UNITED STATES,
WASHINGTON, D.C.

ALBAUGH'S GRAND OPERA HOUSE, FEB. 22, 23, 24, 25, 1891.

COMMITTEE OF ARRANGEMENTS:

General Officers.

FRANCES E. WILLARD	President.
SUSAN B. ANTHONY	Vice-President.
MARY F. EASTMAN	Recording Secretary.
MAY WRIGHT SEWALL	Corresponding Secretary.
M. LOUISE THOMAS	Treasurer.

Ex Officio Vice-Presidents and Regular Delegates.

The following national organizations having entered the Council regularly, according to the conditions prescribed in Article IV. of its Constitution, their representatives become members of this Committee:—

THE NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON	President.
MARY SEYMOUR HOWELL	Delegate.

SOROSIS.

ELLA DIETZ CLYMER	President.
JENNIE C. CROLY	Delegate.

NATIONAL WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION.

FRANCES E. WILLARD	President.
MARY T. LATHROP	Delegate.

THE WOMAN'S CENTENARY ASSOCIATION OF THE UNIVERSALIST CHURCH.

M. LOUISE THOMAS	President.
EMILY S. SHERWOOD	Delegate.

WOMAN'S NATIONAL PRESS ASSOCIATION.

M. D. LINCOLN	President.
MARY S. LOCKWOOD	Delegate.

WIMODAUGHSIS.

REV. ANNA H. SHAW President.
 MARY DESHA Delegate.

THE NATIONAL WOMEN'S RELIEF SOCIETY.

ZINA D. H. YOUNG President.
 JANE S. RICHARDS Delegate.

THE YOUNG LADIES' NATIONAL MUTUAL IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION.

ELMINA S. TAYLOR President.
 CAROLINE S. THOMAS Delegate.

THE ILLINOIS INDUSTRIAL REFORM SCHOOL FOR GIRLS.
(National Charter.)

M. R. M. WALLACE President.
 Delegate.

THE NATIONAL FREE BAPTIST WOMAN'S MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

MARY A. DAVIS President.
 E. S. BURLINGAME Delegate.

The general officers of the Council and the presidents and delegates of the organizations that have entered it, constitute the voting body of the Council at its executive sessions. All members of these organizations may attend the executive sessions of the Council, and may participate in discussions, but may not vote.

Fraternal Delegates.

The following organizations, not members of the Council, were represented in this First Triennial Meeting of the Council by Fraternal Delegates.

THE BOARD OF LADY-MANAGERS OF THE COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION,
 Bertha Honoré Palmer, Mrs. Charles M. Henrotin, Virginia C. Meredith.

THE QUEEN ISABELLA ASSOCIATION,
 Dr. Julia Holmes Smith.

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF LOYAL WOMEN OF AMERICAN LIBERTY
 Mrs. I. C. Manchester, Mrs. N. P. Banks, Alice Cutting.

THE RAMABAI ASSOCIATION,
 Judith M. Andrews.

THE KING'S DAUGHTERS,
 Margaret Bottome, Mary Lowe Dickinson, Isabella C. Davis.

THE MORAL EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY OF BOSTON,
 Maria F. Walling.

THE MORAL EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY OF CHICAGO,
 Elizabeth E. T. Sawyer.

THE ILLINOIS WOMAN'S ALLIANCE,
 Corinne S. Brown.

THE RHODE ISLAND WOMAN'S COUNCIL,
 Mrs. E. S. Burlingame.

THE OHIO WOMEN'S COUNCIL,

THE WOMAN'S EDUCATIONAL AND INDUSTRIAL UNION,
Ellen B. Dietrick, Harriet A. Townshend.

THE PROTECTIVE AGENCY FOR WOMEN AND CHILDREN,
Caroline M. Brown.

THE LADIES' PHYSIOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF BOSTON,
Dr. Helen B. O'Leary.

THE WOMAN'S HEALTH PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION OF NEW YORK,
Margaret Ravenhill.

THE WOMEN'S BAPTIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY,
Mrs. J. N. Crouse, Mary G. Burdette.

THE WOMAN'S AMERICAN BAPTIST HOME MISSIONARY SOCIETY,
Mrs. T. Nickerson.

THE WOMAN'S MISSIONARY SOCIETY OF THE REFORMED CHURCH,
Mrs. M. E. Whitmore.

THE WOMAN'S FOREIGN MISSIONARY UNION OF FRIENDS,
Hannah J. Bailey.

THE WOMAN'S FOREIGN MISSIONARY SOCIETY OF THE M. E. CHURCH,
Mrs. J. T. Gracey, Mary H. B. Hitt.

THE WOMEN OF THE NATIONAL FARMERS' ALLIANCE,
Mary E. Lease.

THE UNION WOMAN'S MISSIONARY SOCIETY,
Mrs. H. J. Johnson.

THE WOMEN'S OCCIDENTAL BOARD OF FOREIGN MISSIONS,
Mrs. E. V. Robbins.

THE WOMAN'S BOARD OF MISSIONS OF THE CUMBERLAND PRESBYTERIAN
CHURCH,
Netta M. Bergen.

THE WOMAN'S MISSIONARY SOCIETY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH,
Kate D. Moore.

THE NATIONAL CHRISTIAN LEAGUE FOR THE PROMOTION OF SOCIAL PURITY,
E. B. Grannis, M. Louise Thomas.

THE WOMAN'S RELIEF CORPS, AUXILIARY TO THE GRAND ARMY OF THE
REPUBLIC, Kate B. Sherwood, Alice M. Peters.

THE WORLD'S WOMAN'S TEMPERANCE UNION,
L. M. N. Stevens, Frances J. Barnes.

THE BRITISH WOMEN'S TEMPERANCE ASSOCIATION,
Florence Balgarnie.

THE NON-PARTISAN NATIONAL WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION,
J. Ellen Foster.

THE WOMAN'S TEMPERANCE PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION,
Matilda B. Carse, Mary Allen West.

THE WOMAN'S NATIONAL TEMPERANCE HOSPITAL,
Josephine R. Nichols.

THE RIGHT WORTHY GRAND LODGE OF GOOD TEMPLARS OF THE WORLD,
Bessie Starr Keefer.

THE ILLINOIS WOMAN'S HOME MISSIONARY SOCIETY,
Mrs. O. H. Tainter.

THE UNIVERSAL PEACE UNION,
Rev. Amanda Deyo, Frances E. Willard, M. Louise Thomas.

THE NEW YORK PRESS CLUB,
Mary F. Seymour, Helen Watterson.

THE ILLINOIS PRESS ASSOCIATION,
Dr. Alice B. Stockham.

THE NEW ENGLAND WOMAN'S PRESS ASSOCIATION,
Estelle M. H. Merrill.

THE AMERICAN OFFICERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN,
Clara Barton, *Vice-President*, Rachel Foster Avery, *Cor. Secretary*.

by invitation, sit as Fraternal Delegates in the sessions of the National Council.

N.B. — The Fraternal Delegates above named may enjoy the privilege of being present at all Executive Sessions of the Council, excepting that announced for Saturday, February 21, and may participate in all discussions, but may not vote.

Standing Committees.

Committee on Railroad Tickets	Lucy E. Anthony,	<i>Chairman.</i>
Committee on the Press	Mary F. Seymour,	"
Committee on Sale of Literature in the Lobbies	Emma M. Gillett,	"
Committee on Finance	Rachel Foster Avery,	"
Committee on Music	M. Elizabeth Johnson,	"
Committee on Credentials	May Wright Sewall,	"

PROGRAMME.

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 22.

3 P.M.

Hymn — REV. MILA FRANCES TUPPER.

Invocation — REV. CAROLINE J. BARTLETT.

Scripture Reading — REV. OLYMPIA BROWN.

Solo — M. ELIZABETH JOHNSON.

Sermon — REV. IDA C. HULTIN.

The National Hymn — "My Country, 'tis of Thee."

Offertory.

Exhortation — MRS. MARGARET BOTTOME, President of "The King's Daughters."

The Doxology.

Benediction — REV. ANNA H. SHAW.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 23.

10.30 A.M.

Music.

Prayer — MARY H. B. HITT.

Introduction of Delegates, }
President's Address, } FRANCES E. WILLARD.

General Subject : — CHARITIES AND PHILANTHROPIES.

State Control and Social Care of Dependent Classes : Woman's Share in the Work — ANNA GARLIN SPENCER.

The Care of Dependent Children — FANNY B. AMES.

The Need of Women in Public Institutions — DR. ROSE WRIGHT BRYAN.

Our Duty to Dependent Races — ALICE C. FLETCHER, F. E. W. HARPER.

Women as Police Matrons — LILLIE DEVEREUX BLAKE.

Address — KATE B. SHERWOOD.

Open Discussion.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 23.

7.45 P.M.

Music.

Prayer — SUSAN H. BARNEY.

General Subject : — WOMEN IN THE CHURCHES.

Woman's Status in the Church To-day — REV. MILA FRANCES TUPPER.

Women in the Methodist Church — JANE M. BANCROFT, FRANC ELLIOTT.

Modern Charities and Church Work — EMILY S. SHERWOOD.

The Christian League — E. B. GRANNIS, Editor of the Church Union.

The Brahmo Somaj, and What it is Doing for Women —

GEORGIA H. COOK (MRS. JOSEPH COOK)

Discussion — Mrs. J. B. CROUSE, Miss MARY BURDETTE, Mrs. C. R. BLACKALL,
Baptist Home Mission Society.

MRS. M. E. WHITMORE,

Woman's Missionary Society of the Reformed Church.

MRS. HANNAH J. BAILEY,

The Woman's Foreign Missionary Union of Friends.

MRS. H. J. JOHNSON, *The Union Woman's Missionary Society.*

MARY A. DAVIS, MRS. E. S. BURLINGAME,

The National Free Baptist Woman's Missionary Society.

MRS. E. V. ROBBINS, *The Occidental Board of Foreign Missions.*

MRS. T. NICKERSON,

The Woman's American Baptist Home Missionary Society.

MRS. GRACEY,

The Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the M.E. Church.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 24.

10.30 A.M.

Music.

Prayer — SARAH D. LA FETRA.

General Subject: — TEMPERANCE.

The Non-Partisan National W.C.T.U. — J. ELLEN FOSTER.

The Temperance Temple — MATILDA B. CARSE.

The Woman's Temperance Lecture Bureau — ANNA A. GORDON.

The Woman's Temperance Publishing Association —

MARY ALLEN WEST, Editor of the Union Signal.

The Woman's National Temperance Hospital — JOSEPHINE R. NICHOLS.

Scientific Temperance Instruction in Schools and Colleges — MARY H. HUNT.

Address — MARY T. LATHRAP.

Discussion — SALLIE F. CHAPIN, ZERELDA G. WALLACE.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 24.

7.45 P.M.

Solo — DAISY MOORE.

Prayer — SUSAN S. FESSENDEN.

General Subject: — EDUCATION.

A Demand for Women in the Faculties of Co-Educational Colleges and Universities — LUCINDA H. STONE.

A New Phase of the Higher Education of Women in America; Barnard College — ANNIE NATHAN MEYER.

A Woman's College in Spain — ALICE GORDON GULICK.

Woman's Progress in Higher Education — HELEN L. WEBSTER.

Women in the Medical College of Johns Hopkins University —

ELIZABETH T. KING.

Married Women in the Public Schools — MARY A. RIPLEY.

School Savings Banks — S. L. OBERHOLTZER.

Discussion — CHRISTINE LADD FRANKLIN, MARY F. EASTMAN.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 25.

10.30 A.M.

Music.

Prayer — MRS. A. C. THORPE.

General Subject: — THE POLITICAL STATUS OF WOMEN.

The Matriarchate — ELIZABETH CADY STANTON. Read by SUSAN B. ANTHONY.

Gains of the Last Three Years — MARY SEYMOUR HOWELL.

The Relation of the Woman Suffrage Movement to Other Modern Reforms —
JULIA WARD HOWE.

Women in the Farmers' Alliance — MARY E. LEASE.

"God's Women" — REV. ANNA H. SHAW.

Discussion.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 25.

3 P.M.

Extra Session — MISCELLANEOUS.

Music.

Prayer — FRANCES J. BARNES.

Occupations of Women to Date —

MARY F. SEYMOUR, Editor of the Business Woman's Journal.

The Legal Disabilities of Women — DR. ALICE B. STOCKHAM.

Improved Dress — FRANCES E. RUSSELL.

The Journalistic Outlook — LILLIAN WHITING, Editor of the Boston Budget.

The Woman's Educational and Industrial Union —

ELLEN B. DIETRICK, HARRIET A. TOWNSEND.

The National Young Ladies' Mutual Improvement Association —

CAROLINE S. THOMAS.

The National Woman's Relief Society — MRS. KIMBALL, EMMELINE B. WELLS.

The National Protective Agency for Women and Children —

CAROLINE M. BROWN.

What Do the Signs of the Times Signify? —

ANTOINETTE VAN HOUSEN WAKEMAN, of the Chicago Post.

The Literature of Moral Loveliness —

KATHERINE E. CONWAY, of the Boston Pilot.

Voluntary Motherhood — HARRIOT STANTON BLATCH.

Discussion — FRANCES FISHER WOOD, KATE TANNATT WOODS.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 25.

7.45 P.M.

Music — Philharmonic Quartette. MISSES MEADS, LAW, SHEPHERD, STIDHAM.

Prayer — L. M. N. STEVENS.

General Subject : — THE ORGANIZED WORK AND LIFE OF WOMEN.

Women's Clubs, Sorosis — ELLA DIETZ CLYMER, HESTER M. POOLE.

The Moral Influence of Women's Associations — CHARLOTTE EMERSON BROWN.

What Organization has done for English Women — FLORENCE BALGARNIE.

The Board of Lady Managers of the Columbian Exposition —

BERTHA HONORÉ PALMER, MRS. CHARLES M. HENROTIN,
VIRGINIA C. MEREDITH.

The Queen Isabella Association — ISABELLA BEECHER HOOKER,

DR. LUCY E. WAITE.

The Ramabai Association — JUDITH W. ANDREWS.

The King's Daughters — MARY LOWE DICKINSON, ISABELLA CHARLES DAVIS.

The National Association of Loyal Women of American Liberty —

MRS. I. C. MANCHESTER, MRS. F. H. EAVES, MRS. H. R. BISHOP.

The Illinois Woman's Alliance — CORINNE S. BROWN.

The National Woman's Press Association — M. D. LINCOLN,

MARY S. LOCKWOOD.

Wimodaughsis — MARY DESHA.

The Rhode Island Woman's Council — E. S. BURLINGAME.

The Moral Educational Association of Boston — MRS. WALLING.

The Ladies' Physiological Institute of Boston — DR. HELEN B. O'LEARY.

The National Christian League for the Promotion of Social Purity —

E. B. GRANNIS, M. LOUISE THOMAS.

Woman's Health Protective Association of New York — MARGARET RAVENHILL.

Discussion.

The Introduction of the New Board of Officers, and Closing of the First
Triennial Meeting — FRANCES E. WILLARD.

Benediction — REV. IDA C. HULTIN.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE BUSINESS MEETINGS
OF THE
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF THE UNITED STATES.

HELD IN CONNECTION WITH THE FIRST TRIENNIAL.

TAKEN FROM THE "TRANSACTIONS OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN."

Business meetings of the National Council of Women of the United States were held at the Riggs House, the afternoons of February 23 and 24, 1891.

At these meetings the fraternal as well as the regular delegates were invited to be present, and no *binding* votes were taken, although many matters of interest were discussed and acted upon informally.

It was voted to ask that women be added to the National Divorce Reform League; that women be made members of the committee which prepares the International Sunday-School Lessons; that women be admitted to the General Conference of the Methodist Church; that Congress grant the request already before it for free schoolbooks for the public schools of the District of Columbia; that the United States Government officials, who have the matter in their control, adopt a standard of equal wages for equal work in the Government Departments.

The following resolutions were also passed by an informal vote :

Resolved, That it is the unanimous voice of this Council that all institutions of learning and of professional instruction, including schools of theology, law and medicine, should, in the interest of humanity, be as freely opened to women as to men; that opportunities for industrial training should be as generally and liberally provided for one as the other, and that the representation of organized womanhood in this Council will steadily demand that in all avocations in which both men and women engage, equal wages shall be paid for equal work; and, finally, that an enlightened society should demand, as the only adequate expression of the high civilization which it is its office to establish and maintain, an identical standard of personal purity and morality for men and women.

Resolved, That the National Council endorses the general features of the plan of organization outlined in our President's address, and that the general

officers fully elaborate the plan between this and the next session of the National Council.

Letters were received from John G. Whittier, Dr. Bashford, Elizabeth Stuart Phelps Ward, Marion Harland, Nina Morais Cohen, and a telegram of congratulation from Elizabeth Cady Stanton.

By order of the meeting, telegrams were sent to Whittier, Mrs. Stanton and Dr. Bashford, and votes of thanks were passed to Mrs. Elizabeth Thompson, Mr. Henry Faxon and others for generous gifts to the treasury.

The Secretary was instructed to send greetings to Mrs. Lucy Stone, Mrs. Mary A. Livermore and Rev. Antoinette Brown Blackwell, expressing regret for their absence.

At the meeting of Tuesday afternoon, February 24, the report of the Corresponding Secretary was presented. It is in substance a *résumé* of the work of the first three years of the National Council's life, and is as follows :

REPORT OF CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

To the Members of the National Council of Women :

In submitting this first triennial report of work done in an important office, it is but fair that some of the disadvantages attending it be stated.

First, as has appeared in the notes of the Secretary, there has been no full meeting of the general officers since the organization was formed until this present month.

During the first year the Corresponding Secretary sent out to newspapers and to individuals seven thousand five hundred copies of the Constitution and seven thousand five hundred copies of the Address of the General Officers. She sent with the documents a short autograph letter soliciting editorial notice, as well as the mention of the matter furnished. Fifteen newspaper articles were also prepared by her relating to the Council; three of these, with slight modifications, appeared in eight papers each, most of the remaining ones appeared in four papers, and all in at least two. Of the letter, to which the general officers had decided to secure the signatures of distinguished women, the Secretary made fifty-four copies, distributing them according to the plan indicated in the minutes of the Chicago meeting, already presented to you.

In addition, there were sent out circular letters to the secretaries of national associations of women and to influential individuals to the number of one hundred and seventy-four, and autograph letters to the number of one hundred and forty-seven.

During the second year of the Council's life the Corresponding Secretary had the distinguished honor of representing it on two important occasions: first, at the Convention of Clubs called by Sorosis in the March of 1889; second, at the International Congress of Women convened in Paris in the August of the same year. It is not claiming too much for the National Council, and for the International Council, out of which it sprang, to say that the former suggested to the minds of its founders the General Federation of Women's Clubs, and that the latter gave the inspiration out of which the Paris Congress grew. Indeed, frequent acknowledgment of these facts has been made. The second year the Corresponding Secretary was invited to present

the claims of the Council before a Woman's Home Missionary Association assembled in Indianapolis, and the same year she presented the arguments for entering the Council before the Association of Collegiate Alumnae assembled at Buffalo.

During the third year five hundred copies of the Constitution and of the Address of the General Officers were sent out to prominent members of different national organizations of women, and each was accompanied by a personal letter, which reviewed the objections made from time to time. The work of the office has been much heavier during the third than during the two preceding years, — naturally so, since the last year includes the months during which the programme has been arranged.

Nearly two thousand copies of the Constitution and as many of the Address of General Officers have been sent out. The Secretary has written five newspaper articles relating to the Council, and by twenty-five personal letters to journalists of her acquaintance has inspired several other articles upon the same theme. The Secretary had written four hundred and ninety-two letters before the preparation of the programme had really begun.

In August, 1890, a letter was sent to each of the other general officers and to the presidents of the eleven associations that had then voted to enter the Council, calling their attention to the fact that they were members of the Executive Committee, and as such of the Committee of Arrangements for the first triennial meeting; stating that all preparations would necessarily be made by correspondence, and soliciting suggestions relative to the programme. It should be stated that the Corresponding Secretary did not act without authority, since the President had told her that she must take the initiative in preparing the programme.

The Secretary also wrote to the President of each of the eleven associations that had voted to enter the Council, asking her to have a delegate to the first triennial meeting appointed. In response to this appeal the following women were added to the Committee of Arrangements:

FROM THE NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION,
Mary Seymour Howell.

FROM THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION,
Mary T. Lathrop.

FROM SOROSIS,
Jennie C. Croly.

FROM THE WOMAN'S CENTENARY ASSOCIATION OF THE UNIVERSALIST CHURCH,
Emily S. Sherwood.

From the general officers help has been received as follows within the last few months since programme work began : from Miss Willard, fifty-nine letters ; from Miss Anthony, nine ; from Mrs. Thomas, six ; from Miss Eastman, five. Seven of the associations, that early voted to apply for admission to the Council, reconsidered the action before their admission was consummated. Very lately two organizations have voted to enter the Council. They sent their triennial fees of twenty-five dollars at the same time they sent in their applications, and as it seemed clear that they were national in character, the Corresponding Secretary disregarded this informality, and sent to their officers the documents sent to others. They entered too late to bear any part in the arrangement of the programme or take a conspicuous part in it.

As it became evident that many important interests would be unrepresented in the programme of the first triennial meeting if only members of the six national organizations regularly entering the Council were placed upon it, the Corresponding Secretary issued a call asking each national organization of women that was not entitled to send a regular delegate to send a fraternal delegate to this meeting. This public invitation was supplemented by numerous letters to the presidents and secretaries of associations known to be national in both scope and value. The result is that twenty-nine organizations are represented by fraternal delegates.

I wish to say here that a reason besides the one above named for inviting national societies not yet belonging to the Council to send fraternal delegates is found in the hope that in this way the leaders of such organizations will learn that the Council is in reality controlled by the principles laid down in its Constitution, particularly in Article II. thereof :

This Council is organized in the interest of no one propaganda, and has no power over its auxiliaries beyond that of suggestion and sympathy ; therefore no society voting to become auxiliary to this Council shall thereby render itself liable to be interfered with in respect to its complete organic unity, independence, or methods of work, or be committed to any principle or method of any other society or to any act or utterance of the Council itself, beyond compliance with the terms of this Constitution.

In no instance save one have local bodies been asked to send delegates, where it was known that a national body existed for the promotion of the same purpose.

The one exception to this is in respect to press associations. The field of journalism is so largely occupied by women that its representation seemed imperative. As the National Press Association had not

joined the Council when preparations for the programme began, although repeatedly requested to consider doing so, the Corresponding Secretary wrote to the Press Associations of New England, New York, Chicago and San Francisco, asking them to send fraternal delegates. The Secretary, not knowing in every instance who held official place in these bodies, wrote to those whose names she knew, asking them to bring the matter before the proper authorities. When, in December, the National Press Association applied for regular admission to the Council, it seemed proper to place the representatives of that body on the programme and to let the others have the representation in executive sessions accorded to fraternal delegates. Anxious that all the local press associations invited should in a manner appear on our programme, — before the New England Press Association had acted upon sending delegates, — Lillian Whiting had been asked to prepare a paper and Kate Tannett Woods to take part in formal discussion.

The experience of the Corresponding Secretary in arranging this programme and in considering the relative claims of regular and fraternal delegates impels her to suggest that in future meetings the proper representatives of duly entered national bodies constitute an Upper House,—a Senate so to speak,—and fraternal delegates from national bodies not duly entered and from the local councils, which — instead of two, as now (I refer to the Alliance of Ohio and the Council of Rhode Island)—will doubtless three years hence be forty, constitute a Lower House.

I have not thought it within my function in this report to develop this idea and present it in the form of an amendment, but I hope in some way it will be matured prior to the next triennial meeting.

I may say that in suggesting to the general officers that all fraternal delegates and all lay members of duly entered bodies be present at executive sessions, and that the general officers, with presidents and delegates of duly entered national associations, constitute the voting body at this meeting, I had in mind an approximation to the plan above hinted at.

The fulness of the programme, which is bitterly complained of by some of our number, and the consequent premature cut off which many an eloquent speaker will suffer, is due entirely to the tardy decision of associations to come to us.

Had we known a year ago, when the Opera House was engaged, that six (now nine) national organizations would come into the Council, and that twenty-six (now thirty-one) organizations would send fraternal delegates, we should have engaged it for a fortnight, or at least

a week, instead of three or four days. Imperfect as the programme is, it has required three hundred and eighty-eight separate and distinct letters from the Corresponding Secretary, so many of which have been duplicated that the whole number of letters written since August relative to the programme is five hundred and sixty-nine, while three hundred and fifty slips relating to it have been sent to the press since that time.

The chief desires of the Corresponding Secretary have been first to attain justice, and next to disabuse the minds of women, particularly of conservative women, of the idea that the Council exists to promote temperance and suffrage. Hence these subjects are subordinated in the programme, because the Council is to represent *ideas* and not *numbers*.

Respectfully submitted,

MAY WRIGHT SEWALL,

Corresponding Secretary.

The following officers were duly elected :

President :

MAY WRIGHT SEWALL, Indiana, President of the Indianapolis Propylæum and of the Contemporary Club of Indianapolis.

Vice-President :

ELLA DIETZ CLYMER, New York, President of Sorosis.

Corresponding Secretary :

RACHEL FOSTER AVERY, Pennsylvania, Recording Secretary of the National Women Suffrage Association and Corresponding Secretary of the International Council of Women.

Recording Secretary :

ISABELLA CHARLES DAVIS, New York, Corresponding Secretary of the King's Daughters.

Treasurer :

LILLIAN M. N. STEVENS, Maine, Assistant Secretary of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

On motion of Mrs. May Wright Sewall, Susan B. Anthony and Mary F. Eastman were made perpetual members of the Executive Committee of the National Council of Women, in the capacity of honorary Vice-Presidents.*

* This action being afterward considered unconstitutional, it in effect lapsed.

At an executive session the following resolutions were adopted :

Resolved, First, That the National Council of Women of the United States send a memorial to the clergymen of the Methodist Episcopal Church, asking, that inasmuch as sixty-two per cent. of the membership of that denomination who voted on the subject have already by formal ballot expressed a desire that women be admitted to the General Conference, the clergy shall, in accordance with the will of the laity, grant the admission of women to that body.

Second, That the Council ask that women be placed on the Sunday-School Lesson Committee, and on all committees appointed in the various churches for the revision of their creeds.

Third, That the Council urge upon the National Divorce Reform League the eminent fitness and consequent obligation of placing women on its Board.

Fourth, That the National Council of Women shall present to the proper authorities a formal request that in all departments of its service the Government shall pay its employees equal wages for equal work, and that both in engaging and promoting its employees it shall consider efficiency and not sex, and thus set a standard for the country.

Fifth, That, inasmuch as the Columbian Exposition of 1893 will afford an exceptional opportunity for convening representatives of all countries, the officers of the National Council shall invite the officers of the International Council of Women, Millicent Garrett Fawcett, President, to hold its first meeting in Chicago in the summer of 1893.

Resolved, That the general officers shall appoint a committee of women whose duty it shall be to report within a year suggestions for a business costume for women which shall meet the demands of health, comfort and good taste.

Resolved, That the Council approves the movement for preventing the slaughter of birds for the sole purpose of ornamentation, and that it asks American women to imitate the example of the Princess of Wales, who has forbidden the use of the plumage of singing birds on her toilets.

The Council also resolved to furnish a block of stone or marble, suitably inscribed, to place in the monument to be erected over the grave of Mary, the mother of Washington, and voted to commend to all organized bodies of women the objects of the Mary Washington Society.

All these were referred to a formal meeting of the Executive Committee for binding action.

The Constitution was amended to read as follows :

CONSTITUTION OF THE
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF THE UNITED STATES,
ORGANIZED AT WASHINGTON, D.C., MARCH 31, 1888.

PREAMBLE.

We, women of the United States, sincerely believing that the best good of our homes and nation will be advanced by our own greater unity of thought, sympathy and purpose, and that an organized movement of women will best conserve the highest good of the family and the state, do hereby band ourselves together in a confederation of workers committed to the overthrow of all forms of ignorance and injustice, and to the application of the Golden Rule to society, custom and law.

That we may more successfully prosecute the work, we adopt the following

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.

Name.

This federation shall be called the National Council of Women of the United States.

ARTICLE II.

General Policy.

This Council is organized in the interest of no one propaganda, and has no power over the organizations which constitute it beyond that of suggestion and sympathy; therefore no society voting to enter this Council shall thereby render itself liable to be interfered with in regard to its complete organic unity, independence, or methods of work, or be committed to any principle or method of any other society, or to any act or utterance of the Council itself, beyond compliance with the terms of this Constitution.

ARTICLE III.

Officers.

The officers shall be a President, Vice-President at Large, Corresponding Secretary, Recording Secretary, and Treasurer. Each president of a society belonging to the Council shall be *ex officio* Vice-President of the National Council, and the President of the National Council shall be *ex officio* Vice-President of the International Council.

The five general officers, with the *ex officio* Vice-Presidents, shall constitute an Executive Committee, of which seven members shall make a quorum, to control and provide for the general interests of the Council.

ARTICLE IV.

Members.

SECTION 1. Any society of women, the nature of whose work is satisfactory to the Executive Committee, either as to its undoubtedly national character or national value, may become a member of this Council by its own vote and by the payment of one hundred dollars into the treasury of the National Council not later than three months prior to its triennial meetings.

SECT. 2. The women of any national organization composed of both men and women may associate themselves together within said national organization, and may connect themselves with the Council by electing a woman to represent them on the Official Board of the Council, and by the payment of the regular triennial fee into its treasury.

ARTICLE V.

Meetings.

The National Council shall hold triennial meetings. The Committee of Arrangements shall be composed of the Executive Committee and one delegate chosen as its representative by each society belonging to the Council.

ARTICLE VI.

Amendments.

This Constitution may be altered or amended by a majority vote of the Council at any triennial meeting, printed notice thereof having been sent to each member of the Executive Committee at least three months prior to such meeting.

At the afternoon session of Wednesday, February 25, Mrs. M. Louise Thomas, Treasurer of the Retiring Board, announced that the National Council of Women of the United States had just secured an act of incorporation in the District of Columbia, which empowered the Council to accept any gifts which might be made to it. She also announced, at another session, that the deed for the gift of land presented by the Glen Echo Chautauqua Association had been executed in due form.

Mrs. Thomas' time during the meeting of the Council was largely occupied with the details of this incorporation and with securing this deed.

At a meeting held in the parlors of the Riggs House, February 26, 1891, 11 A.M., there were present the new officers: President, Mrs. May Wright Sewall; Vice-President, Ella Dietz Clymer; Correspond-

ing Secretary, Rachel Foster Avery ; Treasurer, Lillian M. N. Stevens ; Recording Secretary, Isabella Charles Davis ; also Francis E. Willard, M. Louise Thomas, Rev. Amanda Deyo, Susan B. Anthony, Mary F. Eastman, Jane S. Richards, Rev. Anna H. Shaw, Mary S. Lockwood, Mary A. Davis.

With a few earnest, tender words the retiring President, Miss Willard, presented her successor, Mrs. May Wright Sewall, to the meeting. Upon taking the chair Mrs. Sewall spoke with deep appreciation of the work accomplished by the retiring Board, and welcomed the incoming officers to their new duties in the great field with whose needs and opportunities her three years of service as Corresponding Secretary of the Council had made her thoroughly familiar.

Mrs. M. Louise Thomas presented the application for admission to the Council made by the Christian League of Social Purity, with headquarters in New York City. By unanimous vote the society was admitted.

An invitation was presented from Mrs. Harrison inviting the National Council of Women and all delegates and members in convention to attend a reception at the White House at five o'clock that afternoon, which was accepted.

M. Louise Thomas presented the application of the Universal Peace Union, stating that while this association was officered by men they had created a woman's committee, of which Rev. Amanda Deyo and Mrs. Thomas herself are members. In accordance with Section 2 of Article IV. of the Constitution, the Peace Union was accepted.

It was decided, on motion of Lillian M. N. Stevens, to hold the annual Executive Session of the Council in the month of May ; and, on motion of Ella Dietz Clymer, the place and date of the meeting were left to the decision of the general officers.

On motion of Mary F. Eastman, the Corresponding Secretary was authorized to employ a clerk, and five hundred dollars were appropriated for this purpose.

On motion of Miss Willard, a like appropriation was placed at the disposal of the President for such clerical help as should be necessary in carrying forward the work of the Council.

The President suggested that, as the Council had now voted appropriations far in excess of its regular income, steps should be taken to secure the necessary funds. On motion of Miss Willard, the task of devising some plan for raising this money was placed in the hands of the officers of the Council.

It was resolved that at the assembling of all future Councils a sergeant-at-arms should be appointed to maintain order on the platform, and two or more pages to serve the officers and delegates.

Rachel Foster Avery moved that the permanent report of this first Triennial Meeting of the National Council of Women be issued uniform in size, type and general style with the report of the International Council of Women of 1888, but bound in a more substantial manner. The motion was adopted, and the entire charge of publishing this report was placed in the hands of the Corresponding Secretary.

It was ordered that this permanent report be entitled "Transactions of the National Council of Women of the United States, 1891."

The question of the best method of publishing the proceedings of the Convention at an early day being brought up for discussion, it was decided to hear the offer of Mary F. Seymour, managing editor of the *Business Woman's Journal*. Miss Seymour was granted the floor to state her offer, and, after further discussion, it was agreed that the Council should pay six hundred dollars for the publication of a condensed report of its proceedings in the April number of the *Business Woman's Journal*; that for this sum ten thousand copies of this Council number should be printed; that five thousand copies of this edition should go to Miss Seymour for the regular subscribers of the *Journal*, and the other five thousand be distributed, and as many as possible sold for the benefit of the Council.

On motion of Miss Eastman, Miss Seymour was directed to confer with Mrs. Avery as to the details of the publication of this brief report.

On motion of Mrs. Davis, the arrangements for distributing and selling the five thousand copies of the magazine belonging to the Council were left to Mrs. Avery.

On motion of Mrs. Stevens, Mrs. Avery was appointed a Committee on Finance to have charge of all expenses and returns of this report and authorized to draw upon the treasury for the necessary funds.

The Treasurer was authorized to pay all bills for services rendered under direction of Miss Seymour in connection with the first triennial meeting of the Council, such bills being first approved by Miss Seymour and Mrs. Avery.

It was agreed by consent that the seal and motto which the retiring Board of Officers has been instructed to prepare be used upon all official documents and stationery, and that these ladies be asked to select a color for the stationery.

On motion of Miss Willard, seconded by Miss Eastman, it was

Resolved, That the National Council of Women of the United States, in so far as this can be effected by its own action, be hereby constituted a member of the International Council of Women.

On motion of Miss Willard, the meeting was adjourned, subject to the call of the President.

On Saturday evening, February 21, Mrs. Jane H. Spofford, an officer of the National-American Woman Suffrage Association, gave a reception at the Riggs House, the Council headquarters, to the officers of the National Council of Women, and all the guests enjoyed the pleasure of a presentation by Mrs. Spofford to the officers and delegates of the Council, who received with her.

On Thursday, February 26, at 5 p.m., the officers of the National Council and a large number of the members of the various associations constituting the Council, in response to the invitation presented at the business session of February 25, proceeded in a body to the White House, and were cordially received by Mrs. Harrison and the ladies of her household.

CHAPTER IV.

MINUTES OF THE MEETING

OF THE

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

HELD AT THE PROPYLÆUM, INDIANAPOLIS, MAY 30, 1891.

INDIANAPOLIS, May 30, 1891.

Present at the meeting, Mrs. May Wright Sewall, President; Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, Corresponding Secretary; Miss Frances E. Willard and Mrs. E. S. Burlingame. Mrs. Burlingame did not vote, as she represented informally the President of the National Free Baptist Woman's Missionary Society.

In the absence of the Recording Secretary, the Corresponding Secretary was made Recording Secretary of the Conference.

The President opened the meeting with a statement of the reasons why the various memorials and letters, authorized by the Executive Session in Washington, had been allowed to wait, it having been thought best that the method of carrying out the work indicated by the resolutions passed at Washington should be determined at this meeting.

The Washington resolutions were then read as a whole by the Secretary, after which they were taken up *seriatim*.

Resolution First:

Resolved, That the National Council of Women of the United States send a memorial to the clergymen of the Methodist Episcopal Church, asking that inasmuch as sixty-two per cent of the membership of that denomination who voted on the subject have already by formal ballot expressed a desire that women be admitted to the General Conference, the clergy shall, in accordance with the will of the laity, grant the admission of women to that body.

At Miss Frances E. Willard's suggestion, it was resolved that the following be sent to the fourteen leading Methodist Journals :

The National Council of Women, through its Executive Committee, respectfully memorializes the clergy of the Methodist Episcopal Church, asking that, inasmuch as sixty-two per cent of the membership of that denomination who voted on the subject have already by formal ballot expressed a desire that women be admitted to the General Conference, the clergy shall, in accordance with the will of the laity, grant the admission of women to that body.

Resolution Second :

Resolved, That the National Council of Women of the United States shall ask that women be placed on the International Sunday School Lesson Committee.

The Corresponding Secretary was directed to send a copy of this resolution to Dr. Warren F. Randolph, Newport, Rhode Island, Secretary of the International Sunday School Lesson Committee, requesting him to lay it before the next Triennial Meeting of the International Sunday School Workers of the United States and Canada : also to Dr. John H. Vincent, Buffalo, N.Y. ; also to H. Clay Trumbull, editor of the *Sunday School Times*, Philadelphia.

Resolution Third :

Resolved, That the National Council of Women of the United States shall ask that women be placed on all committees appointed in the various churches for the revision of their creeds.

The Corresponding Secretary was directed to send resolution third to the official address of the secretary of each denomination which has appointed, or shall appoint before 1895, a committee on revision of the creed.

It being known to the Council that, at the very time of its executive meeting, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church was convened in Detroit for this purpose, the following telegram was sent :

INDIANAPOLIS, May 30, 1891.

To the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church convened in Detroit, Mich.

Gentlemen : Presbyterian women having as yet had no voice in the revision of the creed, we respectfully ask that, in its ratification or rejection by the General Assembly, they now be invited to participate.

By order of the National Council of Women of the United States.

MAY WRIGHT SEWALL,
President.

RACHEL FOSTER AVERY,
Corresponding Secretary.

It was mentioned to the Secretary in this connection that both the United and Reformed Presbyterians are moving towards a revision of their creeds.

Resolution Fourth :

Resolved, That the National Council of Women of the United States urges upon the National Reform Divorce League the eminent fitness and the consequent obligation of placing women on its Board.

After some discussion it was decided to appoint the following committee to appear before the National Divorce Reform League to present resolution fourth to that body and to sustain it by argument : Mrs. Fannie B. Ames, Mrs. Mary A. Livermore of Boston.

Resolution Fifth :

Resolved, That the National Council of Women of the United States shall present to the proper authorities a formal request that, in all departments of its service, the government shall pay its employees equal wages for equal work, and that, both in engaging and promoting its employees, it shall consider efficiency and not sex, and thus set a standard for the country.

The following committee was appointed to carry out resolution fifth by securing the presentation to Congress of a bill containing its substance, and to work for its passage with every Congress until such a bill shall become law : Mrs. Lucia E. Blount, Washington, D.C., Mrs. Leland Stanford, California, Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, Ohio, Miss Mary Desha, Washington, D.C.

The Secretary was instructed to make it plain to each member of this committee that whatever memorial it may issue to the government authorities, must first be submitted for the signatures of the general officers of the Council.

Resolution Sixth :

Resolved, That, inasmuch as the Columbian Exposition of 1893 will afford an exceptional opportunity for convening the representatives of all countries, the officers of the National Council of Women of the United States shall invite the officers of the International Council of Women, Millicent Garret Fawcett, President, to hold its first meeting in Chicago in the summer of 1893.

In connection with resolution sixth, the following formal resolution was adopted :

Resolved, That in the meetings in 1893, the National Council of Women of the United States, by inviting the International Council of Women to assemble in Chicago, assumes the entertainment of all accredited foreign delegates to the International Council of Women. Therefore, so far as it affects the women of

this country, only members of national associations that have already entered the National Council, or may enter it at least three months prior to the meeting of the International Council, can be accredited as delegates to that meeting.

Resolution Seventh :

Resolved, That the general officers of the National Council of Women of the United States shall appoint a committee whose duty it shall be to report within a year suggestions for a business costume for women which shall meet the demands of health, comfort and good taste.

In order to see that action be taken on resolution seventh, a committee was appointed to prepare a Symposium on Dress, to be published under the auspices of the National Council of Women in one of the popular magazines during the coming year.

It was ordered that it shall be the further duty of this committee to report to the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Council in May, 1891, its idea of an every-day business dress for women, accompanied, if possible, by a model of the same.

The following Committee on Dress was appointed : Mrs. Frances E. Russell, Mrs. Annie Jenness Miller, Mrs. Frank Stuart Parker, Mrs. Laura G. Schofield.

The Corresponding Secretary was directed to correspond with Marion Harland as to the cost of the block of stone or marble, to be placed by the National Council in the monument to be erected over the grave of Mary, the mother of Washington. She was further authorized, in the name of the Council, to collect money for the same. The following contributions were at once pledged : Miss Willard, \$5.00 ; Mrs. Burlingame, \$5.00 ; Mrs. Sewall, \$10.00 ; Mrs. Avery, \$10.00.

A letter was read from the Young Woman's Christian Association declining to enter the Council. A letter was also read from the officers of the National Chautauqua at Washington, D.C., asking whether the Council would be represented at their coming meeting.

The Secretary was instructed to secure, if possible, a representation at that meeting of the work connected with the Council.

The Secretary was also instructed to correspond with Mrs. Jennings as to the cost of a tent, or of a permanent sign-board, bearing the name of the Council, to be placed on the lot at Glen Echo, which had been given to the National Council by the National Chautauqua Association.

The President was authorized to form a committee to collect funds for a Woman's Temple to be erected at Glen Echo, and to report at next year's meeting.

The following resolution was passed :

Resolved, That at the Second Triennial of the National Council, to be held in 1895, every State Council may send two fraternal delegates. In States where no State Council exists, City Councils may each send one fraternal delegate. No fraternal delegates shall be received at the National Council from States or cities in which no Councils have been organized.

Resolved, That a letter be sent out by the officers of the Council encouraging the formation of City Councils.

A letter was read from the School of Industrial Art asking how it could secure admittance to the Council.

The Secretary was directed to state in reply that no local associations can enter the Council, and to suggest the formation of a national federation of such schools.

After a long discussion of the proposed motto of the National Council, the selection of which had been left with the retiring Board of Officers (two of them being present in person and a third by representation, and the opinion of the other two being known), "LIGHT, MORE LIGHT," was determined upon. The selection of a design was left with Mrs. Avery.

(N.B. Mrs. Avery and Mrs. Sewall, though in favor of this motto at the time, were not satisfied entirely because the vote was not unanimous, and resolved to hold further consultation on this subject with the retired Board of Officers.) Subsequently the present motto of the Council, "Lead, Kindly Light," was adopted by a unanimous vote.

The Corresponding Secretary was authorized to proceed with the publication of the "Transactions of the National Council of Women."

It was resolved that fifty copies of the Council number of the *Business Woman's Journal* should be sent to the President of each association in the Council, and fifty more, should she so request.

The meeting then adjourned, having lasted from 10 A.M. until 6.30 P.M., with an hour and a half recess for luncheon, which was served at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Sewall.

CHAPTER V.

MINUTES OF THE MEETING
OF THE
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

HELD AT CHICAGO, MAY 9 AND 10, 1892.

May 9, 8 P.M., 1892.

Meeting was called to order by the President, May Wright Sewall, in the chair.

The following members were present: Mrs. May Wright Sewall, President; Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, Corresponding Secretary; Miss Susan B. Anthony, Miss Frances E. Willard, Miss Octavia W. Bates, Detroit; Mrs. E. B. Grannis, New York; Mrs. M. R. M. Wallace, Chicago.

In the absence of the Recording Secretary, Miss Anna Gordon was requested to take the minutes of the meeting, which are here presented.

The minutes of the last meeting, held in Indianapolis, were read and approved.

The President called for reports of officers, which were read by the Corresponding Secretary.

The President and Corresponding Secretary were directed to send a letter to Bishop Fitzgerald at the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in session at Omaha, urging favorable action regarding the admission of women to that body.

The Corresponding Secretary was instructed to write the Secretary of the National Reform Divorce League, Dr. Samuel Dike of Auburn-dale, Mass., stating the desire of the National Council of Women, that women be placed on the Board of this League.

The report of the Committee on Dress called out an interesting discussion and was followed by a report of the Corresponding Secretary of her correspondence regarding the Symposium on Dress Reform. She presented letters from the editors of the *Arena*, *Harper's Monthly* and the *Century* magazines, the last two declining to publish the proposed articles.

The Corresponding Secretary was instructed to accept the offer made by the editor of the *Arena*.

Adjourned.

May 10, 10 o'clock A.M.

The President in the chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and approved.

Mrs. Frank Stuart Parker was called upon to report the dress reform movement. She reported by permission her own work, and that of the large association in Chicago, and promised an article for the Symposium.

Discussion of headquarters at the World's Fair followed, Mrs. Wallace urging the importance of securing them before the dedicatory services.

On motion of Miss Susan B. Anthony, seconded by Miss Frances E. Willard, appreciation was expressed of the offer of headquarters made by Mrs. Palmer, President of the Board of Lady Managers at the meeting of the Council, held at Washington in 1891, and it was ordered that preparations to occupy the same during the entire time of the World's Fair be made. It was also voted, that the National Council invite all national organizations to enter the Council.

On motion of Miss Anthony, it was decided to ask for the week preceding that to be occupied by the World's Women's Temperance Convention for the Council.

On motion of Miss Willard, it was voted to ask for the gratuitous use of the audience rooms, day and night, for one week; also for the use of five committee rooms.

Adjourned.

3.45 P.M.

The President in the chair.

A letter to the Methodist Conference was read and ordered to be mailed, and to be given also to the Associated Press.

On motion of Miss Willard, it was voted to make provision for the establishment of a list of Patrons of the National Council of

Women, the conditions being the payment of one hundred dollars by any one who is acceptable to the Board of General Officers.

The President and Secretary were instructed to endeavor to secure Patrons.

On motion of Miss Willard, it was voted to secure, if possible, an extension of time on retaining land at Glen Echo, and permission to build, not a temple, but a moderate building.

The resignation of Mrs. Ella Dietz Clymer, Vice-President-at-Large, was read, and on motion of Miss Anthony, was accepted with regret and sympathy.

It was voted to fill the vacancy by electing four persons; the first in order elected to be notified of her election, and if she declined, the second and third, etc. The following were elected: Miss Clara Conway, Memphis, Tenn.; Mrs. Abby Morton Diaz, Boston; Miss Kate L. Minor, Louisiana; Mrs. Frances E. Bagley, Detroit, Mich.

On motion of Miss Willard, the Constitution of the Local Council of Women of Indianapolis was adopted to be recommended to all Local Councils.

On motion of Mrs. Avery, seconded by Miss Willard, the funds in the treasury were appropriated to cancel the debt due the President.

Adjourned.

CHAPTER VI.

MINUTES OF THE MEETING
OF THE
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

HELD AT THE PALMER HOUSE, CHICAGO, DEC. 14 AND 15, 1892.

Wednesday, Dec. 14, 1892, 10.30 A.M.

The President, Mrs. May Wright Sewall, in the chair.

The following were present: Mrs. May Wright Sewall, President; Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, Corresponding Secretary; Mrs. Elizabeth Boynton Harbert of Evanston, Ill., proxy of the President of the National American Woman's Suffrage Association; Rev. Anna H. Shaw, Philadelphia, President of Wimodaughsis; Rev. Caroline J. Bartlett of Kalamazoo, Mich., delegate of Wimodaughsis; Mrs. Frances S. Mosher of Hillsdale, Mich., delegate of the National Free Baptist Woman's Missionary Society; Mrs. Elizabeth B. Grannis of New York, President of the National Christian League for the promotion of Social Purity; Miss Sarah A. Stewart of Philadelphia, Acting President of the International Kindergarten Union; Mrs. Cordelia A. Quinby of Maine, President of the Woman's Centenary Association of the Universalist Church; Mrs. Frances E. Russell of St. Paul, Chairman of the Dress Committee; Miss Octavia W. Bates of Detroit, Mich., member of the Dress Committee; Mrs. Annie Jenness Miller of Washington, D.C., member of the Dress Committee; Mrs. Frances Stuart Parker of Chicago, member of the Dress Committee.

Rev. Ida C. Hultin, President of Woman's Western Unitarian Conference, and Mrs. J. M. Crouse, President of the Woman's Baptist

Home Missionary Society, were, by unanimous vote, invited to be present and witness its proceedings.

The minutes of the business meeting held at Chicago, May, 1892, were read by the Corresponding Secretary, and a discussion followed in regard to the Patron's term of office. It was decided that the payment of one hundred dollars should make a person a Patron for life. The minutes were approved as read.

The President called for reports from the committees.

The Corresponding Secretary read the report of the Committee on Equal Pay for Equal Work, in the absence of the chairman of that committee, Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton. She also read the bill which the committee had prepared to be introduced into the House and into the Senate, TO EQUALIZE THE SALARIES OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES. She also stated that it had passed a second reading in the Senate, and that the committee would try to push it through to a third reading and a vote. The report was approved, and, after a discussion of the bill, the following resolution, offered by the Corresponding Secretary, was adopted :

Resolved, That the bill presented to the Senate and the House, by the Committee on Equal Pay for Equal Work, be approved, and that the Council send to the committee such an expression of approval as shall be suitable to print and to circulate in Congress in support of the bill.

The report of the Committee on Divorce Reform was given orally by Mrs. Avery, there being at present no chairman of that committee.

Mrs. Russell, chairman of the Committee on Dress, read the report of the committee and gave the two objects for which the committee had been working, *i.e.*

First. To prepare a Symposium on Dress.

Second. To prepare a design for a suitable business dress for women.

Mrs. Russell stated that the first of these objects had been achieved by the "Symposium on Dress" that had appeared in the September and October numbers of the *Arena*. She also stated that the report had not been signed by all the members of the committee.

Mrs. Annie Jenness Miller said that she was the member who had not signed it, and that her reason for refusing to do so was that it did not sufficiently advocate artistic and beautiful dress. An interesting discussion was called forth by this report, in which Mrs. Annie Jenness

Miller, Mrs. Frank Stuart Parker and Mrs. Frances E. Russell participated (all members of the committee).

On motion, the following was adopted :

Resolved, That the consideration of the report of the Committee on Dress be made the special order of business for the evening session.

Adjourned.

SECOND SESSION 2 P.M., WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 14, 1892.

After the minutes of the morning session were read and approved, the following telegrams were presented:

SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH.

Mrs. MAY WRIGHT SEWALL, Palmer House,

President National Council of Women of the U.S. :

Accept cordial greetings for the Assembly, and assurances of confidence in plans for best good of all.

My heart is with you in love.

E. B. WELLS.

SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH.

Mrs. RACHEL FOSTER AVERY,

Secretary National Council of Women :

Mrs. Dougall unavoidably detained and cannot attend. Sends greetings and regrets.

M. B. DOUGALL.

Consideration of a chairman of the Committee on Divorce Reform was taken up, and Mrs. Avery read a communication from Mrs. Hester M. Poole of New York, in reply to a letter asking for the names of Sorosis women, suitable for the chairmanship of this committee. After discussion, Mrs. Avery moved the following, which was unanimously carried :

Resolved, That the Council elect three ladies to fill the office of chairman of the Committee on Divorce Reform; that in case of the refusal of the first elected, the Secretary should communicate with the second, and so on.

Mrs. Josephine Shaw Lowell of New York, Mme. E. Louise Demorest of New York, Mrs. Ellen Battelle Dietrich of Boston, were nominated. On motion of Mrs. Avery, seconded by Rev. Caroline J. Bartlett, the Secretary was instructed to cast the vote of the meeting for the names placed in nomination.

A discussion followed in regard to the headquarters of the National Council at the Columbian Exposition, and the following resolution was offered by Rev. Anna H. Shaw :

Resolved, That the President and the Corresponding Secretary of the National Council of Women wait upon the Executive Committee of the Board of Lady Managers now in session in Chicago, with a petition that headquarters in the Woman's Building be granted to the National Council of Women; that they bring to the Council a report of the answer given, and that then further action be taken by the Council.

Mrs. Avery moved to amend the motion by adding to the committee thus appointed, the Rev. Caroline J. Bartlett and Mrs. Elizabeth B. Grannis.

The motion, including the amendment, was carried.

Mrs. Avery reported that the following national organizations had come into the National Council of Women since the May meeting :

1. The International Kindergarten Union.
2. The Woman's Republican Association of the United States.

She also gave the following list of those national organizations which were considering the proposition of entering the Council :

1. Association of American Authors.
2. Woman's Western Unitarian Conference.
3. Supreme Temple of the Pythian Sisters of the World.
4. National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution.
5. National Woman's Relief Corps, Auxiliary to the G.A.R.
6. National Association of Loyal Women of American Liberty.
7. The Woman's American Baptist Home Missionary Society.
8. The Woman's Missionary Society of the Reformed Church.
9. The Woman's Foreign Missionary Union of Friends.
10. Non-Partisan Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

Mrs. Grannis asked what benefit an organization receives from belonging to the Council, and what benefit it would be to the Council to have organizations enter in considerable numbers. The President called upon each lady present to answer the questions, and to state frankly whatever objections she had heard expressed to any organization entering the Council. Whereupon an interesting discussion followed.

At the request of the meeting, the President answered the objections which were mentioned, and she also stated the advantages accruing from membership in the Council.

Pursuant to a motion made at once by Mrs. Matilda J. Carse and seconded by Mrs. Avery, Mrs. May Wright Sewall, President of the Council, was instructed to prepare a statement of the origin, history, motives and objects of the National Council of Women of the United States, to be printed and distributed.

It was further voted that there be appended to the new edition of the Constitution of the National Council, not only the titles of the organizations in the Council, but also the name and address of the President of each society and a statement of its numerical strength; furthermore, that the names of the organizations be printed in the order of their entrance into the Council, and that the date of entrance of each be appended.

A discussion of the proposed building at Glen Echo, near Washington, D.C., was next in order. Mrs. Avery reported that Mr. Baltzly declined the proposition which she had been instructed at the May 10th meeting to make to him on behalf of the Council, *i.e.*: To allow a longer time and to permit the erection of a cheaper edifice than the one first considered, and that therefore, the gift was practically lost.

Adjourned.

THIRD SESSION, 8 P.M., WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 14, 1892.

The minutes of the afternoon session were read and approved.

The Chair called for the report of the Committee on Dress, which was the special order of business, after the reading of which the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the report be approved in substance, but that it be returned to the committee with instructions to revise and to rewrite and to present to the Council at the Thursday evening meeting.

On motion of Mrs. Avery, the following was adopted:

That, in printing the report, there be appended to it a recommendation by the Council that women all over the country be urged to adopt and to wear at the Columbian Exposition a costume fashioned on the principles set forth in the report and illustrated in the views of four costumes appended to the report of the Committee on Dress.

The resignation of Miss Clara Conway, Vice-President of the National Council, was read and the following resolution was adopted :

Resolved, That the resignation of Miss Clara Conway as Vice-President is hereby accepted with deep regret.

A discussion of the financial condition of the Council being brought up, the President stated, in answer to questions, that the National Council was under obligations to assume the entertainment of all duly accredited representatives from foreign countries to the World's Congress of Representative Women, such action having been taken at the May meeting of 1891. Ways and means of obtaining funds for this purpose were considered, but action was deferred to a later session.

The President also explained the organization of Local Councils, and the relation of such to the National Council.

Adjourned.

FOURTH SESSION, 10 A.M., THURSDAY, DECEMBER 15, 1892.

The minutes of the previous session were read and approved.

The President stated that in reply to her communication asking an opportunity for the Council's Committee to present a request to the Board of Lady Managers for headquarters, Mrs. Palmer had appointed 11 A.M.

The President then presented the following communication which she had prepared to present to the Committee on Space of the Board of Lady Managers of the World's Columbian Exposition, prefacing the reading of the latter by the statement that she thought it well to put the petition of the National Council for headquarters in the Woman's Building into permanent shape, that it might appear on the records of the Council.

Mrs. BERTHA HONORÉ PALMER,

President of the Board of Lady Managers.

Dear Madam: Through you, the National Council of Women of the United States renews its application for headquarters in the Woman's Building, during the months of the Columbian Exposition.

You will recall that the Council interpreted your offer of a room in the Woman's Building, during the Columbian Exposition, which was made in Washington in March of 1891, to be an offer of permanent headquarters, and, according to that interpretation, made both its announcements and its plans.

You will also remember that when it understood that the offer referred to had been made for a limited time only, it filed an application with you for the use of one of the smaller rooms in the Woman's Building (rooms that were, we believe, in the early history of the Board of Lady Managers, designated as Committee Rooms), for permanent headquarters. Correspondence has at intervals been carried on upon this subject, sometimes favorable, and again unfavorable to our desire. The last letter I have from you on the subject bears date September 23, 1892, and from it I quote these words:

"I hope now that, after all, we may be able to give the National Council the place it desires in the Woman's Building."

The time has now come when the National Council must know definitely its fate in this respect.

In renewing our application we desire to call your attention to the following facts:

It has again and again been urged, by members of the Board of Lady Managers. "If we give one national organization headquarters in our building, we must give all other national organizations headquarters that apply for it, for we cannot discriminate among organizations," and therefore, going further some have said, "If we give the National Council headquarters we must give other national organizations of women headquarters."

We wish to make respectful reply to these two objections that have been urged against our appeal:

First. Replying to the last statement, it shows that the National Council of Women is not understood. The National Council is not itself one national organization of women among many others, and, like them, organized to serve one specific purpose; but, on the contrary, it is a body formed by the coming together, on terms of perfect equality, of national organizations of women for the purpose of accomplishing large general objects which serve all bodies of women alike, but which are not the specific purpose of any one national organization.

Second. Replying to the first objection, may we not say that it is not only the province of the Board of Lady Managers to discriminate among applicants for space in the Woman's Building, but that this is what they are called upon especially to do. It is what they have done, and what they must continue to do to the end. Everything that applies cannot find admission. The Board of Lady Managers has announced its intention to admit only the highest examples of woman's skill in any direction. There is no vanity in saying that the National Council of Women exhibits the highest attainment reached by women in the line of organization.

Before the National Council was formed, national organizations for a specific object constituted the highest manifestation of woman's organizing power. Certainly no one would deny that the grouping of national organizations into one organized body, for no selfish specific object of that body, but for the purpose of clothing, with multiplied moral force, any interest so large and general that it commends itself to all women, regardless of the specific objects for which they are organized; that this is the climax in the organization of the moral forces of society, by women.

The National Council, at the present time, includes thirteen national organizations of women, which are appended with the names of their presidents. You will recognize that our claim that they are among the leading organizations of the country is justified.

1. NATIONAL WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION,
President, Miss Frances E. Willard.
2. NATIONAL FREE BAPTIST WOMAN'S MISSIONARY SOCIETY,
President, Mrs. Mary A. Davis.
3. ILLINOIS INDUSTRIAL REFORM SCHOOL FOR GIRLS,
President, Mrs. M. R. M. Wallace.
4. NATIONAL WOMAN'S RELIEF SOCIETY,
President, Mrs. Zina D. H. Young.
5. UNIVERSAL PEACE UNION,
Representative, Rev. Amanda Deyo.
6. NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION,
President, Miss Susan B. Anthony.
7. WOMAN'S CENTENARY ASSOCIATION OF THE UNIVERSALIST CHURCH,
President, Mrs. Cordella A. Quinby.
8. WIMODAUGHSIS,
President, Rev. Anna Howard Shaw.
9. SOROSIS,
President, Dr. Jennie Lozier.
10. YOUNG LADIES' NATIONAL MUTUAL IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION,
President, Mrs. Elmina S. Taylor.
11. NATIONAL CHRISTIAN LEAGUE FOR THE PROMOTION OF SOCIAL PURITY,
President, Mrs. Elizabeth B. Grannis.
12. INTERNATIONAL KINDERGARTEN UNION,
Acting President, Miss Sarah A. Stewart.
13. WOMAN'S REPUBLICAN ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
President, Mrs. J. Ellen Foster.

Many national organizations that have such affiliations with women of foreign countries as makes it quite proper for them to bear the title of International Organizations, exist. These can all, through their national character, find place in the National Council, and share with it any headquarters that may be assigned to it; therefore, you will see that our request for headquarters is in behalf of foreign women.

The work which the National Council has undertaken as its specific business during the Columbian Exposition year is such a work of public spirit and hospitality as must commend itself to all women within organizations of all kinds, and outside of any.

It is this: You all know that a World's Congress of Representative Women is convened, under the auspices of the World's Congress Auxiliary, to meet in Chicago the third week of next May. The President and the Corresponding Secretary of the National Council have been made, through the courtesy of Mr. Bonney, yourself, dear madam, and Mrs. Ellen M. Henrotin, the Chairman and the Secretary of the Local Committee of Arrangements for that Congress.

This Congress, like the National Council itself, stands for the representation of women's interests, quite independent of the national organizations to

which they belong, and quite independent of the fact that they do or do not belong to any organization of women.

Many representative women of all foreign lands, who would desire to attend such Congress, and whose presence would be most valuable in it, are women of limited means; therefore, to diminish the expense of attendance upon this Congress by representatives from foreign countries and to induce the larger attendance of such, the National Council has pledged itself to entertain, free of cost to themselves, during the week of the Congress, all duly accredited representatives of foreign countries in the Congress; and all women of foreign countries to whom is assigned a part in the programme. This fact is stated as indicative of the impartial and unlimited character of the objects of the National Council.

The National Council desires, after the conclusion of the Congress, to continue the exercise of what may be termed intellectual hospitality, or spiritual hospitality, to the women of other nationalities; and to continue it in a manner which will aid other nations in their efforts towards organization.

Already in "La Federation Feministe," and also "La Solidarite des Femmes," France has made a beginning towards such grouping of her national organizations of women as will be equivalent to a National Council. In her "Ligue Nationale des Femmes," Belgium has started a National Council of Women. In Canada and Finland the preliminary steps have been taken towards the same end. The three countries comprising Scandinavia, Denmark, Norway and Sweden, have united their organized forces.

You will see that our appeal for a headquarters in the Woman's Building is of truly national importance, and that in giving the National Council of Women of the United States a room in your building, you do not discriminate against any national organization of women, but, on the contrary, you recognize all organizations at once, and recognize the highest form that organization in our own country has yet taken.

We would say, in conclusion, that every national organization in the country known to us (and great pains has been taken to know all of them) has been invited to enter the Council.

The following large and important organizations now have the matter under consideration, with the probabilities largely favoring an affirmative decision:

1. American Society of Authors.
2. Woman's Western Unitarian Conference.
3. Supreme Temple of the Pythian Sisters of the World.
4. National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution.
5. National Association of Loyal Women of American Liberty.
6. The Woman's American Baptist Home Missionary Society.
7. The Woman's Foreign Missionary Union of Friends.
8. The Woman's Missionary Society of the Reformed Church.
9. Non-Partisan Woman's Christian Temperance Union.
10. National Alliance of Unitarian and other Liberal Christian Women.
11. Society of the Colonial Dames of America

Moreover, we would respectfully suggest that an organization of such large views as the Council has no desire not to be magnanimous, and has every

inducement to be so, and we would respectfully assure your body that a headquarters in the Woman's Building, if granted, will be used impartially by the Council to promote the value and efficiency of organization in itself considered, and will be a bureau of information to our own women, and to foreigners, on the subject of the idea of nationally organized effort among women.

Very respectfully,

MAY WRIGHT SEWALL,
President N.C.W. of the U.S.

The President called Mrs. Elizabeth Boynton Harbert to the chair and requested that the Corresponding Secretary be excused to prepare a copy of the letter just read. The Secretary volunteered to wait for the communication, and the other members of the committee, Mrs. May Wright Sewall, Mrs. Elizabeth B. Grannis and Rev. Caroline J. Bartlett, withdrew to wait upon the Board of Lady Managers with the request of the Council.

It was moved by Mrs. Avery and seconded by Rev. Anna H. Shaw that the general officers be empowered to appoint a Committee of Reception in New York city to receive the representatives from foreign countries who should come to attend the Congress. This was carried.

A discussion followed in regard to raising funds for the entertainment of the foreign representatives to the Congress, when Miss Shaw stated the suggestions for raising the necessary funds made on the previous evening. The Secretary reported that the Women's National Relief Society had sent one hundred dollars as its contribution toward the entertainment fund.

On motion of Mrs. Carse, the Corresponding Secretary was empowered to purchase a typewriter if necessary.

Mrs. Carse presented the following, which was unanimously adopted:

WHEREAS, The National Council of Women of the United States has undertaken to provide the entertainment for all properly accredited foreign representatives to the World's Congress of Representative Women, to be held in Chicago May 15 to 22, 1893, inclusive; and

WHEREAS, The Council will probably require between five and ten thousand dollars for this purpose, and for other expenses incurred in giving the widest possible publicity to the work of the Council;

Resolved, That we invite women whose influence will aid the Council's work to become Patrons, and that a committee be appointed in each large city where the Council has a representative to solicit subscriptions for the work of the Council.

Adjourned.

FIFTH SESSION, 2 P. M., THURSDAY, DECEMBER 15, 1892.

The President called the meeting to order, and calling Mrs. Harbert to the chair, withdrew to prepare additional paragraphs to the letter which was to be sent to the Board of Lady Managers.

The minutes of the morning session were read and approved.

On motion of Rev. Anna Shaw, the Council proceeded to the election of Vice-President. After consideration, the motion was laid upon the table until the President should return to the chair. An informal discussion concerning the work of the Council followed.

Upon the return of the President, the motion regarding the election of Vice-President was taken from the table.

Mrs. Grannis moved that Miss Kate E. Minor of Louisiana be elected Vice-President.

Mrs. Grannis waived her motion, when it was unanimously voted : That four women be elected in the order designated by this meeting, according to the methods used at the spring meeting.

The discussion of nominations for Vice-President was suspended while Mrs. Avery read the supplementary paragraph to the letter to the Board of Lady Managers, and also the personal communication from Mrs. Sewall to Mrs. Palmer, as follows :

The wall space of the room which we hope you will assign us will be occupied by a system of charts and tables clearly setting forth the origin, objects and numerical strength of the National Council and of all associations belonging to it, as well as of all national associations outside of it which wish to avail themselves of the opportunity to make corresponding exhibits.

The floor space will be used for permanent desk room for the Council ; desk room for the separate organizations composing it will be distributed among them by the Council, and this privilege will be shared by organizations outside of the Council, in so far as they wish to avail themselves of it

The room will be a meeting place for all women, American or foreign, regardless of their present relations to organized work, or to the Councils, National or International, where they may meet to discuss the principles underlying organization and their various applications.

MY DEAR MRS. PALMER : If the Committee on Space could take an immediate action on this matter, it would be a great accommodation.

It will be an awful blow to the organized work of women, should the action be unfavorable. But we trust to your own large-mindedness and that of the Executive Committee and the Committee on Space, to understand our purposes, and the degree to which the larger interests of all women are involved in them.

Very sincerely yours,

MAY WRIGHT SEWALL

The Council then discussed the motion previously offered by Mrs. Grannis relative to the election of Miss Minor as Vice-President of the National Council of Women, and adopted it, whereupon Miss Minor was declared elected Vice-President.

The Corresponding Secretary was instructed to inform Miss Kate E. Minor of her election.

The President called Mrs. Avery to the chair and moved, seconded by Rev. Caroline Bartlett, that Mrs. Frances E. Bagley of Michigan be elected as Vice-President. Mrs. Harbert moved, seconded by Mrs. Avery, that Mrs. Henry Wade Rogers be elected as Vice-President. Miss Stuart moved, seconded by Miss Shaw, that Mrs. J. M. Crouse of Chicago be elected as Vice-President. All were elected in the order indicated.

On motion of Mrs. Harbert, the following was adopted :

Resolved, That unless other business take precedence, the meeting proceed to discuss the exact relations of the National Council to the World's Congress of Representative Women. Also,

Resolved, That the President state the facts in regard to the relation of the National Council to the World's Congress of Representative Women, and after discussion answer questions.

A discussion followed the President's statements, during which Mrs. Grannis recommended as a part of the programme of the Congress an inter-communion service to be held on the Sunday included in the week of the World's Congress of Representative Women.

Adjourned.

SIXTH SESSION, 8 P.M., THURSDAY, DECEMBER 15, 1892.

The minutes of the afternoon session were read and approved.

The special order for the evening session being the report of the Committee on Dress, it was read by Miss Octavia W. Bates, secretary of the committee, the chairman of said committee being absent.

To the Executive Committee of the National Council of Women :

One of the duties which you assigned to your Committee on Dress, was the reporting to your body the committee's idea of an every-day dress for women — "a dress," as explained in your later resolution, "suitable for business hours, for shopping, for marketing, housework, walking and other forms of exercise."

Your committee would, therefore, report as follows :

As the Executive Committee and the Committee on Dress agree in deprecating anything in the nature of a uniform for women, our recommendations will allow large liberty for taste and judgment. Our hope is to deliver women from certain hard and fast lines, within which fashion has so long confined them

(a) It has been customary to clothe the head regardless of comfort. Our recommendation is to relieve the head from unnecessary weight, and furnish a proper protection from sunshine and cold

(b) We take pleasure in recommending the union underwear of varying texture, price and style,—the equestrian trousers, and any properly adjusted waist, or none, as forming a very perfect system of underclothing, which is a necessary condition of freedom and comfort. Utility and beauty, of which proportion is an essential element, demand freedom of outline, and outside dress should conform to this principle.

(c) Numerous beautiful designs, some of them including the short waist of the Empire period, have been offered to us by artists and others, which each may adopt according to her individual needs. Among these are three costumes in which the principles named are practically applied. These costumes are : The Syrian Dress, suggested by our English sisters; the Gymnasium Dress, which is acknowledged to be graceful and beautiful; the American Costume, consisting of a short skirted gown with leggings.

Recognizing these different designs as merely suggestive, great latitude and variety are possible in general effect. Prints of these costumes are appended to this report.

The dressing of the neck should be loose and easy, whatever style of collar may be preferred; and the sleeves, however cut, should give the greatest possible freedom to the arms.

The best authorities agree that the hands and feet require as much freedom as any other parts of the body; therefore, easy fitting gloves and shoes loose across the balls, with room for the toes and with low, broad heels, are recommended.

The outside wrap should be loose enough to permit unrestrained motion to every member of the body.

The above is respectfully submitted as outlining, at least in essentials, a reasonable dress for all women who are engaged in the activities of life.

FRANCES E. RUSSELL, *Chairman*,
Box 390, St. Paul, Minn.
ANNIE JENNESS MILLER,
FRANK STUART PARKER,
OCTAVIA W. BATES.

On motion of Rev. Caroline J. Bartlett, the report was approved, the committee being instructed to continue its work on the following lines :

1. To obtain signatures for "Expression on Improved Dress," written by Mrs. Frances E. Russell.
2. That the committee should consider itself the medium through which the report and recommendation of the Council should be circulated.

Mrs. Avery read the following communication from Mrs. Palmer to Mrs. Sewall and from the Committee on Assignment of Space to Mrs. Palmer in regard to a National Council headquarters at the Columbian Exposition :

MY DEAR MRS. SEWALL: I have great pleasure in transmitting a communication to you from our Committee on the Assignment of Space, by which you will learn that they have voted to assign space to the National Council of Women for the use of the organizations composing that body. Our committee has not been able to state for your information and action this evening just how much space will be placed at your disposal, but this information will doubtless be given you in a very short time. The allotment will be as generous as possible, but I sincerely regret that there is such an evident disproportion between the amount of space at our disposal, and the size and importance of your organization.

With an expression of the gratification which we feel in promoting the wishes of your valuable organization, I am, with assurances of the highest consideration,

Sincerely yours,

BERTHA HONORÉ PALMER.

Mrs. B. H. PALMER, *President* Board of Lady Managers, World's Columbian Commission.

Dear Madam: The letter of Mrs. May Wright Sewall, which has been referred to this committee, has received our careful consideration.

We beg leave to state that we are happy to assign space to the National Council of Women, so far as the limited amount of space will allow, in the room set apart for all organizations of women. The President and Board of Lady Managers, therefore, welcome the organizations included in the National Council of Women.

The Woman's Building having been entrusted to the Board of Lady Managers, they stand ready to extend equal courtesy to women of this and all other nations.

Very respectfully,

Mrs. W. H. FELTON,

Chairman of Committee on Assignment of Space

On motion it was voted :

That the communications just read be made a part of the records.

That the Council proceed to further discussion of the financial question.

That the resolution offered by Mrs. Carse at the morning session and passed unanimously by the Council in regard to inviting persons to become Patrons of the Council be considered.

After a discussion of the subject the following committees were appointed to obtain Patrons in the places named :

Mrs. May Wright Sewall for Indiana, Miss Octavia W. Bates for Detroit, Rev. Caroline J. Bartlett for Kalamazoo and Grand Rapids, Mrs. Frances S. Mosher and Mrs. Mary A. Davis for New Hampshire, Mrs. Cordelia A. Quinby and Mrs. Lillian M. N. Stevens for Maine, Mrs. M. R. M. Wallace and Mrs. Matilda J. Carse for Chicago, Rev. Anna H. Shaw for the field at large, Mrs. Elizabeth B. Grannis for New York City, Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery for Pennsylvania and Mrs. Quinby for Massachusetts.

It was voted that the names of Patrons be printed upon the documents of the Council, and that all the privileges of business meetings, except a vote, be granted them, and that they receive free all published reports.

The President, at the request of the meeting, explained the Local Council and its relation to the National Council.

On motion of Rev. Anna H. Shaw the President and Corresponding Secretary were appointed a committee to attend to all the printing connected with the National Council. Adjourned.

In the following chapter is the statement (pages 69-80) which the President was authorized to prepare and have printed and distributed for information (see action page 58). Thousands of copies were sent out from the offices of the President and the Corresponding Secretary to the leaders of organized work in this country and abroad, and still further disseminated by the publicity given through the press.

CHAPTER VII.

FIRST STATEMENT CONCERNING
THE
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN
OF THE
UNITED STATES.

The National Council of Women of the United States, which was organized in Washington, D.C., at the close of the International Council of Women, held in Washington from March 25 to April 1, 1888, is still a relatively new organization. Now and again letters of inquiry, suggestion and criticism show that its origin, its function and its methods are not yet understood. This fact is not surprising, but it justifies, and indeed, demands a statement which shall cover the history of the National Council from its inception up to date.

The International Council, above referred to, was convened upon the invitation and at the expense of a single national organization of women, for the purpose of celebrating the fortieth anniversary of the public inauguration of the movement which it represents. Nothing more serious than a birthday festival was at first contemplated by the projectors of the fête, but the preparations for a birthday party of international magnitude involved a large expenditure of time, thought and money; and when, after more than a year of unremitting correspondence, representatives of various organizations of women in seven foreign countries, with representatives from twenty-nine organizations of women in our own country, all of national value, had been brought together, it seemed to the committee charged with this work, that it would be a pity if all these women should take their separate ways to their respective homes, having formed no permanent bond of union

which would make it easier for them to meet again. Therefore, at the first business meeting of the great convention, called under the name of the International Council, a proposition was introduced to form, as the fruit of that fleeting festival, two permanent organizations, one an International Council of Women, and the other a National Council of Women of the United States. It is with the latter only that this statement will concern itself.

A special meeting of all representatives present, numbering over fifty, was held in an interval of public sessions to discuss the proposition. A very large majority of all present expressed themselves as favorable to the project, although it was, of course, stated by each that no one could commit any organization to which she belonged to the enterprise; as individuals, however, they could take the initial steps toward a National Council, which would find its completion only in the confederation of such organizations as should subsequently enter it.

It has sometimes been suggested that if any one intended to propose the organization of a National Council, this should have been signified in the first invitation or call to the temporary International Council; but, as above stated, the intention grew in the progress of preparations, and was not formulated until the latter had convened in Washington. Again, it has been objected that inasmuch as the thought to form a National Council was not matured early enough to announce it in the call and invitation to the International Council, it should simply have been introduced at the Washington meeting, and another meeting should have been called six months or a year later to act upon the proposal. A single question seems a sufficient answer to the above suggestion: "Is it probable that six months or a year later anything like so representative a body of women could have been convened again in Washington, or in any other city in this country?"

The International Council had brought together the largest and most representative body of women that had ever been convened in this, or, up to that time, in any country. To have introduced the proposition, and then to have given six months or a year for reflection upon it, with a view to holding a general meeting for final action at the expiration of that period, would certainly have been to throw away a matchless opportunity. It would also have been to refer action from a larger to a lesser body, from a more to a less representative gathering. This was the view then entertained by that numerous body of distinguished representatives of the organized work of women in this

and other countries. It is the view confirmed by their deliberate judgment, and it would seem that their courageous action in using the great opportunity should command the respect and gratitude of all women who believe in growth through organization, whether they wish this method of growth for themselves or not.

One frequently hears remarks implying that to enter the National Council is to indorse woman suffrage. Sometimes such remarks indicate a fear of affiliation with the suffrage movement; sometimes they express pleasure in such affiliation, and in the growth of the doctrine of woman suffrage. The facts in the case are not modified by the point of view of the critic, and warrant neither fear nor congratulation in respect to the suffrage movement; they are simply these: It was in response to invitations issued by the National Woman Suffrage Association that the great meeting was convened, which afforded an opportunity for the organization of the National Council, and the National Woman Suffrage Association was the first organization to enter the Council. When the National Woman Suffrage Association, by uniting with the American Woman Suffrage Association, lost its life to find a larger life in the National American Woman Suffrage Association, the latter body voted to enter the Council. This is the only relation which exists between the suffrage movement and the National Council. It is the same relation (barring the accident of origin) which exists between the Council and the Peace and the Temperance movements, or the Woman's Association of the Free Baptist Church, or the Kindergarten idea. The Constitution of the National Council, by providing in its third Article that "Each president of an organization belonging to the Council shall be *ex officio* Vice-President of the National Council," and by providing in its fifth Article that "each society belonging to the Council may choose one delegate to represent it on the Committee of Arrangements," gives to each organization two votes in the business meetings of the National Council, and two only. It is, therefore, quite impossible that any one organization shall have a dominating influence in the National Council, since, regardless of the numerical strength of the societies belonging to the Council, all have the same number of votes.

Again it is asked if the work of organizations will not be hampered or modified by entering the Council. In the second Article of the Constitution of the National Council is found a complete reply to this question. Here it is clearly stated that, "No society voting to enter this Council shall thereby render itself liable to be interfered with in

respect to its complete organic unity, independence or methods of work, or be committed to any principle or method of any other society, or any act or utterance of the Council itself, beyond compliance with the terms of this Constitution."

Again one is sometimes asked if a national organization, by entering the Council, does not subordinate itself to the Council. An answer to this question is likewise found in Article Second of the Constitution, which says, "This Council . . . has no power over the organizations which constitute it, beyond that of suggestion and sympathy."

As the Constitution was first written, societies belonging to the Council were called "Auxiliaries," but it was at once recognized that the word "Auxiliary" did imply that organizations entering it were tributary to it, and in that sense subordinate. This was not the idea which the framers of the Constitution had intended to express, and, at its first Triennial Meeting, held in 1891, notice of amendment having been given according to Article VI., the Constitution was so amended as to strike out the word, "auxiliary" wherever it occurred; and now the Constitution, throughout, expresses clearly what was its original idea, *i.e.*, that the Council itself is constituted of the organizations entering it, and that no organization entering the Council is subordinate to it in any other way than as one of several equal parts is less than the whole, or the sum of all the parts.

It would seem impossible for words to make clearer than do the words of the Constitution of the National Council the ideas of the independence of each society belonging to it, and the equality of all societies in the Executive Committee and on the Committee of Arrangements; the two Boards which are charged with the administration of all the affairs of the Council.

It is sometimes asked, "If the Council has no other authority over its members (that is, over organizations belonging to it), — if each of these is to pursue its own objects by its own methods, — what is the advantage of entering the Council?" To this it may be replied that, in general, all organizations reap the same advantage by membership in the Council that individuals reap by membership in the different organizations. When women enter a Temperance Union, a Missionary Society or a Literary Club, they do not surrender their own lives to the direction of the club, the society or the union. They continue to pursue their own lives in their own way; but in the organizations which they have entered they unite with other women for the accomplishment of a common object, which either could not be attained at all by the individual, or could be attained with much greater diffi-

culty than by an organization of individuals. There are many large objects for the attainment of which no organization exists, which commend themselves equally to women in all organizations;— for example, a woman's interest in just and equal laws concerning marriage and divorce; a woman's desire that equal work shall command equal wages, regardless of the sex of the worker; a woman's interest in comfortable and beautiful clothing;— these are in no way modified by her own political opinions, by her religious convictions, or by her literary tastes. These and other large objects can best be accomplished by such an organized union of national organizations as the Council affords. Thus, the Council, by uniting organizations upon common interests, prevents the multiplication of organizations with single aims and economizes social forces.

Again, each organization has its own life, character and limitations. As individual women find inspiration, breadth and release from limitations in the organizations to which they respectively belong, so individual organizations may derive from an organism that includes them all the same increase in breadth, sympathy and freedom. The tendency of organization has been not only to bring together women of the same kind, that is, of similar views and similar situations, but it has been also to separate women of different views and different situations. Great organizations of women have been held aloof one from another, by various influences: for example, each has exaggerated the importance of its own work; each has been ignorant of the character and the scope of other organizations. Reciprocal ignorance and distrust of one another have held them aloof; but sympathy is the great solvent for human prejudice, and acquaintance is a primary condition of sympathy; therefore the Council offers to organizations the same help that organizations offer to individuals.

The Triennial Meetings of the National Council bring together representatives of different movements and advocates of different causes, with equal power in the Executive Sessions and equal privilege in the public sessions; and the full reports of these meetings, printed by the Council, secure for each organization within it a wider hearing and a larger public than it alone could command; thus each separate interest is advanced by a Council meeting more than it could be by its own independent meetings, which, however, are not diminished in importance by its relation to the Council.

In looking over the list of organizations belonging to the Council, we are sometimes asked to explain the presence of Sorosis, Wimodaughsis and the Illinois Industrial Reform School for Girls, upon a

list of nominally national organizations. Article IV. of the Constitution states, that "any society of women the nature of whose work is satisfactory to the Executive Committee, either as to its undoubtedly national character, or national value, may become a member of the Council." *Wimodaughsis*, although it has a local habitation, is national in character, since its membership is found in every State of the Union. The existence of a National Club, with headquarters at the national capital, is of value to every woman in the United States.

At the time that the National Council was formed the women's clubs of the country had not been aggregated into a National Organization, as they are at present in the General Federation, but the idea of a woman's club was an idea of national value. It was recognized by the committee charged with the arrangements for the International Council of 1888 that the club idea had originated in New York and Boston at about the same time, and that *Sorosis* and the New England Woman's Club had made that idea known throughout the country; therefore both of these clubs were invited to send representatives to the meeting in Washington. *Sorosis* responded to the invitation; her representatives favored the organization of a National Council, and she was invited to represent the club idea in the National Council, until the clubs of the country should be aggregated into a General Federation, and until that national body of women's clubs should enter the National Council.

The Illinois Industrial Reform School for Girls exists with a National Charter, and it was felt that the idea of the Industrial school has a national value, and, therefore, one of its local leading representatives might properly represent this idea in the Council until such Industrial Schools throughout the country should come into an organized National Union.

From the first address, issued by the officers of the National Council in November, 1888, I quote the following paragraph: "The leading object of this new movement is to aggregate all local societies having the same object into national societies eligible to auxiliaryship in the National Council of Women. For instance, the clubs organized by women in the leading cities have thus far been isolated, but it is hoped that a convention will be called within a year to form a National Federation of Women's Clubs; the influence of individual clubs would be increased by coming into such an organization, and the federation would be eligible to auxiliaryship in the National Council. The same is true of the women's protective agencies, and many other excellent

societies that have been organized locally, but as yet not generally." This extract shows the outlook of the Council.

The Council is yet less than five years old, and already thirteen organizations have entered it. The experience of these organizations is that no one of them has felt its work hampered or modified by its membership in the National Council, but that all have felt themselves stronger by the larger relations and the opportunities for larger sympathy and larger helpfulness which the Council has made available to them.

At the present time the question is asked: "What is the relation of the National Council of Women to the World's Congress of Representative Women?" The answer to this question seems to be made very clear by the preliminary address issued on behalf of the World's Congress of Representative Women, but it may be more briefly stated thus: —

"The National Council of Women *as such* has absolutely no relation to the World's Congress of Representative Women. At the first triennial meeting of the National Council held in Washington, March, 1891, Mrs. Potter Palmer delivered an address on the work of the Board of Lady Managers, of which she is President, and Mrs. Charles Henrotin, Vice-President of the Woman's Branch of the World's Congress Auxiliary, spoke for this body, of which also Mrs. Palmer is President. These ladies united in a most cordial invitation to both the International and National Councils to hold a meeting in Chicago during the Exposition under the auspices of the Congress Auxiliary, and accompanied their invitations with substantial inducements, such as the printing of all announcements and reports of the meeting, and a suitable hall for it free of rent. The invitation was accepted by the International Council, and the preparations for its meeting (which will be its first quinquennial session) were committed to the hands of its American officers — viz.: Miss Clara Barton its Vice-President; Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery its Corresponding Secretary, and the President of the National Council of Women, who, by virtue of her position, is an *ex officio* Vice-President of the International Council.

These officers, in pursuance of the invitation above mentioned, in the spring of 1892 applied to the officers of the World's Congress Auxiliary for the privilege of convening the quinquennial session of the International Council under its auspices. This application and subsequent correspondence resulted in the determination on the part

of the World's Congress Auxiliary to hold a World's Congress of Representative Women in Chicago in 1893.

In May, 1891, when it was expected that the International Council of Women would convene in Chicago in 1893, the National Council, feeling itself responsible, as a member of the International Council, for seeing that hospitality was extended to our foreign friends who should come over to attend the session of the International Council, voted to provide entertainment for all duly accredited representatives from abroad, during the sessions of the International Council in Chicago. When, however, it was decided that the World's Congress Auxiliary would convene a World's Congress of Representative Women in Chicago, under its auspices, and that, therefore, there would be no occasion for the International Council to hold any meeting in 1893, excepting an Executive Business Session, the National Council did not wish to withdraw its offer of hospitality, which had already been published abroad as well as at home; therefore the National Council has undertaken to raise a fund of money which may properly be called its hospitality fund, for the simple purpose of entertaining during one week, May 15 to May 22, 1893, inclusive, all duly accredited representatives of foreign countries who attend the World's Congress of Representative Women.

That the President of the National Council has been given the Chairmanship of the Local Committee, having in charge the preparations for this World's Congress of Representative Women, and that Rachel Foster Avery, Corresponding Secretary of the Council, is the Secretary of this committee, establishes no relation whatever between the National Council of Women of the United States as such and the World's Congress of Representative Women, beyond the simple relation above indicated. It is undoubtedly true that the Chairman and Secretary of the Committee of Arrangements for the World's Congress of Representative Women were appointed to their respective positions upon this committee, because of their official relation to the International Council of Women.

All organizations of women within the National Council are represented by their Presidents upon the Advisory Council of the World's Congress of Representative Women. All organizations outside of the Council have been invited to appoint a representative upon this Advisory Council, and many have responded favorably with courteous promptness.

The existence of the National Council in the United States ought greatly to facilitate the management of a World's Congress of Repre-

sentative Women, but it is in no way bound up in it, and has no claim, and, we trust, no desire, for peculiar privileges with relation to the World's Congress of Representative Women.

It is a high privilege for women that such a World's Congress of Women is to be convened under the auspices of a body which, in its turn, is under the auspices of our great government; and it is to be hoped that the women throughout our country will manifest their gratitude to Mrs. Potter Palmer and Mrs. Charles Henrotin, to whose vigilance and loyalty to womanhood the women of the world are so largely indebted for the recognition which women receive in the World's Congress Auxiliary.

The immediate work before the National Council, in addition to its office of hospitality above indicated, is to prepare to maintain in Chicago, during the World's Columbian Exposition, a headquarters, space for which has been allotted in the Woman's Building, where all of its members may be equally represented, and where all may enjoy equal opportunities to prosecute their respective lines of work, as well as to prosecute the common work undertaken by the Council.

At the Business Meeting of the Council, held in Chicago, in May, 1892, the question of the possibility of individuals becoming members of the Council was introduced. To provide a legitimate bond between individuals and an organization which is, of necessity, precluded from accepting persons into membership, provision was made for "Patrons of the Council." Any person, whose name is acceptable to the Executive Committee, can, by the payment of one hundred dollars into the treasury, become a Patron for life.

The Patrons are entitled to receive free all the published reports of the Council's proceedings, and to be notified of its business meetings, which they have the privilege of attending and in which they may take part in all discussions but without the right to vote. Their names appear upon all published documents, immediately following the general officers and the associations in membership.

In view of the great expense which the Council will incur in entertaining the foreign delegates in attendance upon the World's Congress of Representative Women, the support of its headquarters in the Woman's Building on the exposition grounds, and the prosecution of its several lines of general work, the Treasurer has been authorized to solicit subscriptions to its hospitality fund, and to secure as patrons, such influential persons as may be willing to contribute the prescribed sum and lend the influence of their names to this crowning work of organization among women.

It will be remembered that in the first address issued by the officers of the National Council, it was announced that one of the first objects of the new organization was to aggregate local societies in different parts of the country, existing for the same purpose, into national organizations. The address of President Willard, delivered at the first triennial meeting in 1891, emphasized the importance of rendering the idea of the Council available for local use; this can be done through federating the local societies in any community, under whatever name and for whatever purpose they may exist, into a Local Council, which shall do for the community what it is expected the National Council will do for the country at large, that is, dissipate prejudice, increase sympathy and give to every good cause represented by a distinct society the increased moral force which results from that society's being federated with others. A Local Council is also a means of economizing the time and the abilities of public spirited women, for such a Local Council becomes a Bureau of Information, through which any society planning to undertake a work of general interest, can make its plan known to all the other organizations of women in the community, and thus command the aid of all whom it can interest.

The Constitution of the Local Council should be in strict harmony with that of the National Council. In May of 1891, the President of the National Council was directed by the Executive Committee to draw up a constitution, under which societies in any locality may be aggregated into a Local Council; this was done, and women in any part of the country desiring aid in organizing Local Councils can apply to the Corresponding Secretary for copies of the recommended constitution. Very effective Local Councils are already organized in Minneapolis, Minn.; Portland, Me.; Providence, R.I.; Indianapolis, Ind.; and the initiatory steps have already been taken in organizing Local Councils in Memphis, Tenn., and in Detroit, Mich.

A brief history of the work in Indianapolis, which may be helpful to women of other communities, can be had upon application to either the President or the Corresponding Secretary of the National Council of Women.

The National Council, by approving the address of President Willard, stands committed to aiding in the organization of Local Councils wherever desired; and if the National Council pursues the lines approved in 1891, in its next session, set for the spring of 1895, Local Councils will be represented by their regularly elected delegates.

The line of organization pursued in forming the National Council is analogous to that pursued in forming that Federal Union of States, which has resulted in the United States of America. The analogy between the National Council and the Federal Union is not perfect in every detail, but is broadly suggestive. It is not perfect, for each State in the Union is subject to the National Government or subordinate to it; while each organization within the Council is absolutely independent of the Council, which neither claims nor exerts control over the units which compose it. The units which combine to form another higher unit, are in the National Council without geographical limit. Each of these units is an idea,—an idea of culture, of reform, of moral and social progress, of religious endeavor or of some other distinct spiritual character. As the autonomy of no State is destroyed by entering the United States, but rather as each State finds its own complete development and the broadest field for the exercise of its own influence by entering the United States, so no one of the ideas about which is crystallized a national organization of women, will be impaired by entering the National Council; but rather will experience show that each one of these separate ideas will find its complete evolution, and the widest arena for its public service, in the National Council, whose motive is to achieve what may be termed a spiritual republic.

The motives and the methods of the National Council are in such perfect harmony with the institutions and the government of the Republic that we believe that it must commend itself ultimately to all organized bodies of American women.

The thirteen national bodies now constituting the National Council of Women of the United States may find their parallel in the thirteen original colonies which constituted the infant Federal Union, and in the happy multiplication of the original States they may see the promise of a final harmonious union of all organized national bodies of women; a union wherein each unit, maintaining its separate, independent life, shall find its higher life in the aggregate of units each equal with itself.

Before the National Council was formed, national organization for a specific object was the highest exhibition of women's organizing power. Certainly no one would deny that the grouping of national organizations into one organized body, for no selfish specific object of that body, but for the purpose of clothing with multiplied moral force any interest so large and general that it commends itself to all women,

regardless of the specific objects for which they are organized, — that this is the climax in the organization of the moral forces of society by women.

MAY WRIGHT SEWALL,

President of the National Council of Women of the United States.

Ordered by the Executive Meeting of the National Council, Chicago, December 15, 1892.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON DRESS.

Early in the year 1893, the officers of the National Council printed and circulated the report of the Committee on Dress which was adopted at the meeting of the Executive Committee held in Chicago, December 14-15, 1892.*

The document also contained plates and descriptions of several costumes with the following :

RECOMMENDATION OF THE COUNCIL.

The National Council of Women, at its Business Meeting held in Chicago, December 14-15, 1892, approved the Report of its Committee on Dress, and decided to print it with illustrations of a number of costumes which show variety yet all adhere to the general principles set forth in the Report.

The National Council recommends the adoption of some such costume for hours of activity or out-door exercise. This present year offers an exceptionally good opportunity for the women who crave freedom from the unwholesome restrictions imposed by the conventional dress, to adopt a more sensible costume. Women visiting the Columbian Exposition, where the costumes of foreign nations will show so much that is unconventional to American eyes, need not fear to attract unpleasant notice by wearing there the short street dress which will add greatly to their comfort in viewing the Fair.

In this document there also appeared the following, which is of such value that it is given a permanent place in these records:

As a means of creating sentiment in favor of sensible dress for women and showing the interest already existing in the subject, the

* See pages 65-66 for report.

National Council's Committee on Dress has been circulating the following paper :

"We, whose names are signed below, consent to give our influence in favor of an improvement in woman's dress which will allow her the free and healthful use of the organs of her body when walking or taking exercise. In signing this paper no one of us becomes responsible for the suggestions of any one else, nor do we promise to wear or to endorse any particular style of dress. We simply give our influence to help start a strong and healthy movement in favor of *freedom and common sense in dress*, leaving ourselves free to work for it as seems best to each one."

FIRST SIGNERS.

May Wright Sewall,	Lady Isabel Somerset,
Frances E. Willard,	Clara Barton,
Harriet Beecher Stowe,	Grace Greenwood,
Mrs. Henry Ward Beecher,	Elizabeth Stuart Phelps Ward,
Susan B. Anthony.	Rev. Anna H. Shaw.

Since this "consent" started upon its rounds in the summer of '92, it has rolled up a list of more than a thousand signatures. Among them are the names of Mary H. Wilmarth, Elizabeth Boynton Harbert, Dr. Elizabeth B. Therlberg of Vassar, Sarah B. Cooper, the famous worker in the Kindergartens of the Pacific coast, Rev. Anna Garlin Spencer, Mrs. J. K. Barney, Lucretia R. Garfield of Mentor, Ohio, Margaret E. Sangster, Marion Harland, Alice Freeman Palmer, Lucy Stone, Alice Stone Blackwell, Abby Morton Diaz, Dr. Sarah Hackett Stevenson, Rev. Mila Tupper, Anne Whitney, Marion Talbot, Eliza Sproat Turner, Charlotte Perkins Stetson, as well as any number of college professors, college girls, physicians and other women. It has lately been decided to offer it for the signatures of men also, to secure their assistance in this much needed reform.

The following is from the same document :

DEPARTMENT CONGRESS
OF THE
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN
AT THE
WORLD'S CONGRESS OF REPRESENTATIVE WOMEN.

The Committee of Arrangements of the Women's Branch of the World's Congress Auxiliary, on a World's Congress of Representative Women, has extended to each National Society of Women in the United States an invitation to hold a Department Congress under the management of its own officers for one day in the Congress of Representative Women, in Chicago, May 15 to 22, 1893.

The National Council of Women has accepted this invitation, and is preparing a very attractive programme for the occasion. This meeting, the exact date of which cannot yet be announced, will consist of a morning and an evening session, one of which will be devoted to the Council's work in Dress Improvement, and the presentation and discussion of the general subject from many different standpoints.

It is suggested that women interested in this subject who intend to visit the Exposition, plan to attend this Congress, and wear on the occasion of the Dress Session of the Council, costumes designed for comfort as well as beauty, as a practical exposition of the results thus far attained in the direction of freeing women from the thralldom of uncomfortable and unhealthful dress.

COUNCIL HEADQUARTERS DURING THE COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION.

The Council has been granted headquarters in the Women's Building on the Exposition Grounds, and proposes to have a secretary in attendance there from May to October to meet all visitors and give information as to the Council, the associations in membership in it, and the several lines of effort in which the National Council has been working.

The space assigned will be shared with the members of the Council for the distribution of their documents.

DEPARTMENT CONGRESS
OF THE
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN.

The importance of the Department Congress justifies the insertion herein of the programme of the same, and also of the list of Patrons then honoring the Council.

DEPARTMENT CONGRESS
OF THE
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF THE UNITED STATES
IN THE
WORLD'S CONGRESS OF REPRESENTATIVE WOMEN.
MEMORIAL ART PALACE, CHICAGO.

HALL III.
TUESDAY, MAY 16, 1893.

Officers.

May Wright Sewall, *President*, Indianapolis, Ind.
Frances E. Bagley, *Vice-President*, Detroit, Mich.
Rachel Foster Avery, *Corresponding Secretary*, Somerton, Philadelphia, Pa.
Isabella Charles Davis, *Recording Secretary*, New York.
Lillian M. N. Stevens, *Treasurer*, Portland, Me.

TUESDAY, MAY 16, 1893.

HALL III.
DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN
OF THE UNITED STATES.

MORNING SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK.

Welcome by the President.	MAY WRIGHT SEWALL
"Reminiscences of Early Dress Reform"	LUCY STONE
Principles of the Society for the Promotion of Physical Culture and Correct Dress	FRANCES M. STEELE

Report of the Work of the Committee,

FRANCES E. RUSSELL (Chairman National Council's Committee on Dress)	
Line and Color in Costume: How Beauty makes Reform Possible	HENRIETTA RUSSELL
"Fashions versus Law in Dress"	HELEN GILBERT ECOB
"The Influence of Dress upon Development"	FRANK STUART PARKER
"The Essentials and Non-Essentials of Dress"	ANNIE JENNESS MILLER
"Obstacles to Improved Dress"	OCTAVIA W. BATES
"Physical Culture — A Necessary Preparation for Correct Dressing"	FRANCES W. LEITER

MANY NEW RAINY-DAY COSTUMES WILL BE WORN.

EVENING SESSION, 7.45 O'CLOCK.

Addresses of the Presidents of the Members of the Council.

National American Woman Suffrage Association	SUSAN B. ANTHONY
Woman's Centenary Association of the Universalist Church	CORDELIA A. QUINBY
National Woman's Christian Temperance Union,	
MATILDA B. CARSE (representing Frances E. Willard)	
National Free Baptist Woman's Missionary Society,	
LAURA A. DE MERRITTE (representing Mary A. Davis)	
Illinois Industrial Reform School for Girls (National Charter)	Mrs. M. R. M. WALLACE
National Woman's Relief Society	ZINA D. H. YOUNG
Wimodaughsis	Rev. ANNA HOWARD SHAW
Sorosis	Dr. JENNIE M. LOZIER
Young Ladies' National Mutual Improvement Association	ELMINA S. TAYLOR
National Christian League for the Promotion of Social Purity	ELIZABETH B. GRANNIS
Universal Peace Union	Rev. AMANDA DEYO
International Kindergarten Union	SARAH B. COOPER
Woman's Republican Association of the U.S.	J. ELLEN FOSTER
National Association of Loyal Women of American Liberty	E. MCGREGOR BURT
How Shall the National Council Idea be Developed in Great Britain,	
MARGARET V. PARKER, Dundee, Scotland	
Closing Address by the President — The Idea of the National Council,	MAY WRIGHT SEWALL

List of Patrons.

CLARA L. MCADOW.	MARY A. NEWTON.
LOUISA M. SOUTHWORTH.	RUTH O. DELAMATER.
LYDIA AVERY COONLEY.	LOUISE E. DEMOREST.
J. C. SCHAFER.	LAURA CURTIS BULLARD.
LUCIA E. BLOUNT.	CLEMENT B. SMYTH.
PHOEBE A. HEARST.	ELIZABETH C. MCCAULLEY.
MARY W. KINCAID.	ALBERT SLO CALDWELL.
EMMA J. BARTOL.	MARY JAMESON JUDAH.
M. ADELINE THOMSON.	FANNIE GARRISON VILLARD.
ANNA W. LONGSTRETH.	ELLEN BATTELLE DIETRICK.
HANNAH E. LONGSHORE, M.D.	LADY HENRY SOMERSET.
JENNIE DE LA M. LOZIER.	FRANCES E. WILLARD.
ANNA DORMITZER.	FERDINAND SCHUMACHER.
ESTHER HERRMAN.	FANNIE I. HELMUTH.
ELIZABETH HOWARD CHILDS.	MARY H. WILMARTH.

CHAPTER VIII.

MINUTES OF THE MEETING
OF THE
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

HELD AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, MAY 22, 1893.

PALMER HOUSE, CHICAGO, May 22, 1893.

The President in the chair called the meeting to order. The following persons were present and eligible to the meeting:

May Wright Sewall, President, Indianapolis, Ind.; Frances E. Bagley, Vice-President, Detroit, Mich.; Rachel Foster Avery, Corresponding Secretary, Philadelphia; Isabella Charles Davis, Recording Secretary, New York City; Lillian M. N. Stevens, Treasurer, Stroudwater, Me.; Mrs. M. R. M. Wallace, Chicago, Ill.; Mrs. Zina D. H. Young, Salt Lake City, Utah; Mrs. Emmeline B. Wells, Salt Lake City, Utah; Mrs. Sarah B. Cooper, San Francisco, Cal.; Mrs. Abbie A. C. Peaslee, Auburn, Me.; Rev. Anna Howard Shaw, Philadelphia, Pa.

The President asked the privilege of waiving the usual order of the business meetings, and of coming at once to the special object of the present meeting, which, being granted, she requested the Treasurer to make her report, as she should have occasion to refer to it a number of times during the meeting.

Treasurer's Report.

RECEIPTS.

From former Treasurer	\$ 602.08	
Gifts to Hospitality Fund	386.00	
Arena Publishing Co.	150.00	
Membership fees	500.01	
Patron fees	2,200.00	
Total		\$3,838.09

EXPENDITURES.

Triennial session of Council, 1891	\$ 516.57
Arena Publishing Co.	30.00
Expenses of Recording Secretary at Meeting of Executive Committee, November, 1892	30.55
Typewriter, by order of Cor. Secretary	100.00
Frances E. Russell, by order of President	40.00
Fitting up booth in Woman's Building	28.01
Express bill	3.90
Mrs. Sewall, for funds advanced for printing, postage, clerical help, etc.	1,103.00
Mrs. Avery, for funds advanced for printing, postage, clerical help, etc.	1,250.00
Cash on hand	736.06
Total	<u>\$3,838.09</u>

The President then said that she felt that the members of the Council, the presidents and delegates of organizations and the patrons had a very incomplete idea of what the two officers to whom the work had been largely committed had been doing, and that these two were there to render an account of their acts. She reviewed the work since the last regular session (public) of the National Council of Women in 1891, as follows:

"The May following the annual business meeting was held in Indianapolis. You will remember that at the public sessions in 1891, Mrs. Potter Palmer invited the National Council and also the International Council to hold a session in Chicago in 1893, both to be held in the series of Congresses planned for the World's Fair summer. But this year is not the year for the regular triennial meeting of the National Council; however, it is the year for the quinquennial meeting of the International Council; but since in 1888 it had been tacitly understood that the next meeting of that body should convene in London, Mrs. Palmer's invitation could not be accepted without correspondence with the foreign officers of the International Council. These were Mrs. Fawcett, Madame Bogelot and Miss Frederiksen, who agreed with the American officers that, inasmuch as the Exposition and the World's Congresses were to be here this year, it would be unwise to hold the meeting in London. It was, therefore, decided, after correspondence and conference with Hon. C. C. Bonney, President

of the World's Congress Auxiliary of the World's Columbian Exposition, that the meeting of the International Council should be held as one of the series of World's Congresses.

"As Miss Barton, the Vice-President of the International Council, warmly approved the work done by the President and Secretary of the National Council (the latter officer being also the Corresponding Secretary of the International Council), she expressed her willingness to leave in their hands the arrangements for the meeting, which would be that of the International Council of Women with the National Council of Women as hostess.

"Of course, by the terms of the arrangements entered into with Mr. Bonney and the World's Congress Auxiliary, the name of "Council" was to be lost to this meeting, which was necessarily called a Congress to come into line with the whole series, but it was thought that this loss would be more than made up by the broad basis upon which the meeting would be held and by the sanction of the United States Government, under which all the World's Congresses were held.

"We soon found that, as far as money was concerned with which to do the immense work necessary, the appropriation of the government would not meet the necessities of the case, since to each committee there was given the munificent sum of \$2.00 for postage. We, therefore, carried forward the committee work ourselves as part of the work of the National Council of Women of the United States, and, until toward the end of the time of preparations, none of the immense postage bills were paid by the Congress Auxiliary.

"Knowing from some previous work along these lines what would be the expense attendant upon such a meeting, the Secretary and myself brought the matter before one of the business meetings of the National Council, as its minutes will show, and it was decided to act upon the suggestion of Miss Willard and to solicit Patrons for the Council, with the understanding that each Patron is to pay the sum of one hundred dollars to its treasury and that these patronships give certain rights to individuals in connection with the work of the Council, though not giving a vote. The fourteen organizations belonging to the Council would yield but \$1,400.00 for running expenses for four years. I have secured a goodly number of Patrons. but still we need money for several objects.

"The Council is indebted to myself several hundred dollars, and to its Corresponding Secretary many times that amount, but these debts can wait, for some other things are to be first considered; besides

getting the money to pay our bills for the Congress, we must have the means to support the Council Headquarters at the Woman's Building this summer.

"After the invitation from Mrs. Palmer to hold the meeting of the International Council of Women here this summer, the officers of the National Council of Women felt that, as this organization would be the only one in America officially related to the International Council of Women, it ought to extend hospitality to the foreign women who should be officially delegated to the meeting, and, with the approval of the Business Meeting of May, 1891, such an invitation was made known abroad. When, by the arrangement with Mr. Bonney, the whole plan was changed, we did not feel that the National Council of Women could withdraw its hospitable offers. The result is that we have a very good-sized bill to pay here at the Palmer House. I am sure you are all glad to have it, however, and indeed we wish it were larger, because it has been made by the presence with us of our foreign friends, the representatives, and those of you who were present this morning at the meeting of the International Council feel that the National Council idea has received an impetus for every one of the countries represented at this Congress never dreamed of before, and that the International Council idea is almost inexpressibly strengthened by this Congress. We are consequently glad that we shall have a good many hundred dollars to pay to the Palmer House for the entertainment of our foreign guests."

The President further set forth for what the Headquarters, both National and International, ought to stand; *i. e.*, "for a kind of aggregation of organizations such as no other headquarters in the Organization Room could claim to represent."

A discussion of the methods of securing Patrons followed. Then the President said: "You have noticed in the Treasurer's Report a reference to the Hospitality Fund. Of that contribution a large part came from Utah."

The Treasurer: "Two hundred dollars besides their regular dues came from our two members in Utah (associations), sent most promptly as soon as the appeal went out."

The President then stated that, as all must know, the Council had no right to levy any assessments upon the organizations in its membership. She spoke also of the feeling, which she hoped all those in the Council would not fail to combat wherever and whenever they met it, that an organization, by coming into the Council, lost

something of its individuality; this is not true, but, on the contrary, it gains added power. The only work which the National Council can ever do is work which it would be quite impossible for any one organization to do. Taking the Congress of the past week, she said: "It would have been impossible to convene such a Congress through any one existing organization; such a great enterprise must be backed by an organization which is not committed to the propagation of any one reform, but by an aggregation of organizations which stands simply for the absolute equality of all the organizations within its membership, with perfect respect for their objects, even though they contradict each other, as they do in some cases. Every object must be treated with equal respect by the Council as a whole; and while we have boasted and shall continue to boast of the fact that the United States Government was backing it, this World's Congress of Representative Women could never have been held but for the backing of the National Council of Women of the United States. So you, every one who is here either as a Patron of the Council or as president or delegate of an organization within the Council, or as one of its general officers, you may all feel you did it, that you made the Congress, that without this Council it could never have been."

The President then spoke of the great delight she personally felt in the advent into the Council of the International Kindergarten Union, because it was the first educational organization to enter the Council, and, by its entrance, said in a plainer voice than any of the organizations which had preceded it, "This National Council of the United States is not a suffrage Council, is not a white ribbon Council; it is not a prohibition society; we bring to it here a fundamentally educational association. By bringing in that association Mrs. Cooper recognized our great idea, that the kindergarten movement will have the backing and influence of all the other thirteen organizations, and that it will help the kindergarten movement immensely, as I believe it has helped every single movement that has come into it."

The President urged everyone to speak, everywhere possible, to other women upon the Council idea, and said that if each did her share in carrying forward this great work the meeting of the National Council in 1895 would do in an orderly manner all that had been attempted in the Congress just ended, and all the great questions would be handled properly. The immediate duty is to raise money.

Corresponding Secretary: Lest there be any misunderstanding about the Hospitality Fund, I want to state now that no one's expen-

ses have been paid excepting those of the foreign delegates. There is an item in the Treasurer's account which I wish to explain. It is thirty dollars for the Recording Secretary. The Recording Secretary not being able to be present at the business sessions, at one of them a stenographer was necessary. This cost thirty dollars.

The President: Our postage bills have been very high; the mailing of one set of documents cost \$150.00; and, as these were documents which Mr. Bonney desired sent out, I thought the Congress Auxiliary ought to send them, so I telegraphed him and finally he sent me \$60.00 in stamps, so the Council paid \$90.00 and the government \$60.00. The postage has cost hundreds of dollars.

Corresponding Secretary: I want to say for the satisfaction of the meeting that I moved into the Art Palace very promptly, under the carpenters, as it were, and we worked in draughts and lime dust, but we got \$150.00 for the postage of the last week.

Mrs. Sarah B. Cooper spoke kindly of the work of the President and Secretary and discussed the need of raising money to reimburse the sums they had personally expended. She at once subscribed \$250.00 and urged "that some plan be devised whereby the finances could be properly attended to, the officers reimbursed and provision made for future expenditures." She said, "I consider it one of the greatest honors of my official career to be associated with such noble women in such a great work as this."

The Corresponding Secretary said that there remained about 700 volumes of the "Transactions" of the First Triennial held in 1891, which, if they could be sold, would bring in nearly \$700.00.

Mrs. Young of Utah: I think we can say for Utah that we will sell a hundred copies more than we have sold.

The Corresponding Secretary: I want to make a little explanation with reference to some expenses that appear in this report. My secretaries and myself have worked anywhere from sixteen to eighteen hours a day since the first of January, and I think the Treasurer will bear me out in saying that it is only since the first of January that that money has been drawn out. Up to that time it was a private matter. It was impossible for me to bear such heavy expense and therefore, I did what I did not expect to do; that is, draw the \$500.00, which was appropriated to me for clerk's salary at the rate of \$500.00 a year for the two years which have expired since the last meeting. I have simply drawn that since the first of January after paying that expense myself before that, and that \$1,100.00 has gone to pay these immense

postage bills, stenographers, and so on, such things as I have had to have, and also a large amount has gone for printing. There are some printing bills outstanding. In addition to the fact that the government has allowed only two dollars for postage, there was also the trouble to get any stationery, and the National Council necessarily furnished the stationery until some time in December. Our stationery bills, postage bills and printing bills have been very heavy. The "Second Statement" of the Council, which was sent to all of you, and also the "Report of the Dress Committee," which was an expensive document because of the plates which had to be made, have been another part of the work costing a good deal of money. The electrotypes, which had to be made, cost something like a hundred dollars. We felt that that had to be done, because those who are watching and are interested in the idea of dress reform felt that, in order to avoid probability of caricaturing, the plates must be furnished to the different papers publishing the report.

The President then said that, "while appreciating deeply Mrs. Cooper's kind words about the work done, she felt that she spoke for the Secretary, as well as for herself, in saying that their reimbursement was not the first thing to be considered, but that the money must be raised now to pay the bills left from the Congress and to keep up a splendid headquarters during the summer; in this headquarters there must be a secretary capable of talking about the aims and objects of the National and International Councils and representing correctly the work of all the associations in membership in the National Council."

The President then requested one of the Patrons present, Mrs. McCaulley of Wilmington, Del., to retire for a few moments, and, during her absence, Mrs. Sewall said: "Now that Mrs. McCaulley has retired, I will say that I do not think any better thing could have happened to this association than to have this lady, who is one of our new Patrons, and her husband here during this last week. I did not want to speak in her presence because it seemed rather personal, but I wanted to illustrate what I think the Patron ought to become through telling what they had become. Mr. McCaulley, a gentleman of sterling worth and culture, and capable of recognizing the importance of things, has many times said to me: 'Mrs. Sewall, nothing in the world could have made me understand the work that you are trying to do as I see it now through being present at this Congress. It has been a revelation to me of the thoughts that are abroad in the world, and the one thing I want to do is to make people understand what all

this movement means, and to make them see how their own souls could be lifted up and how the scales could fall from their own eyes if they would come in.' When a man of the character of this gentleman speaks like that, I think it is a testimonial worth having.

"I wish that we had Patrons in every city in the United States. That is what I want, a few more just such people as are now Patrons.

"I can never forget the way in which the Sorosis women responded to our appeal for Patrons without asking a question. I remember it always with the deepest gratitude, and you see we need such a circle everywhere. We have them in Philadelphia, in New York, in Washington, in Wilmington, in my own city, and in Chicago, a beginning. We need them everywhere."

The President then asked Mrs. Bagley, Vice-President of the National Council, to take the chair.

After some discussion of the subject, Mrs. Cooper asked that her gift of \$250.00 be used to create Patrons, and Mrs. Avery suggested the name of Lucinda H. Stone as one.

Mrs. Cooper: Certainly, and I shall be very happy to have some one else named for the other hundred. I am a member of the Council officially and that is honor enough for the present.

The Corresponding Secretary: I think there is a mistaken idea as was expressed by a lady who has been very much interested, and, when it was suggested that she become a Patron herself, she said, "Oh, no, I have done nothing extraordinary, I cannot be a Patron." The idea of the Patron is that they shall be selected with a view to their good standing and being in a sense representative women where they are known. That circle may not be a large one, but, amongst those who do know them, they should stand for high things. These Patrons, as you all know, have the privilege of being present at all the Council meetings, though of course without a vote, but we hope and believe when anyone has associated herself or himself with the Council in this way it broadens and strengthens and deepens the Council through the individuals in it, as nothing else will, much more so than when the woman is simply a member of an organization.

The Treasurer distributed a number of Patron blanks.

Mrs. Wallace urged that the effort be made at once while the spirit of the Congress was still in the air.

Rev. Anna Shaw asked for a rough estimate of the amount of money needed to square the accounts for the Congress aside from future expenses for the headquarters.

The Secretary, after a moment of thought, said about \$3,000.00, and that there was then in the treasury \$1,224.00.

It was mentioned that a number of the organizations had not yet paid their full fees, but the Secretary thought that money would be needed later and was not in favor of urging its collection for this special use.

The Corresponding Secretary here spoke of the generous work of Miss Nicolas Shaw, her own Secretary, who, though capable of earning a much better salary than the Council paid (\$500), remains with her for the Council work, working over hours for months at a time and giving more freely to this work than others many times better able.

Mrs. Davis: There is fifty dollars remaining of Mrs. Cooper's donation. Why cannot we subscribe another fifty and make Miss Shaw a Patron?

The rest of the hundred was subscribed at once.

Mrs. Peaslee spoke feelingly of the death of the President of the new member of the Council, the Loyal Women of American Liberty, Mrs. E. McGregor Burt, and of her great interest in both the Council and the Congress. She thought that at the convention of her association in June she could mention the matter of Patrons and that there would be some women who would be willing to become Patrons in memory of their deceased President.

The Corresponding Secretary: Mrs. Burt was very much interested in the Council idea; she wrote me several times telling me how much of the hundred dollars for their fee had been raised, but would not let me put their association upon the list until the entire sum was ready, and finally she wrote with such pleasure that it was accomplished. She wrote even after writing was difficult for her.

On motion of Mrs. Bagley, Vice-President, the salary of the Secretary's clerk was increased to \$700.00.

Mrs. Avery spoke a few words of the absent ex-President, Frances E. Willard, who would have been at the Congress except for the condition of her health. She had helped in every way possible in the preparations for the Congress by correspondence and by help in England.

It was moved and carried by a rising vote that a cablegram be sent her expressive of the regret felt by the National Council of Women at her absence, and extending hopes for her complete restoration to health. The Secretary was instructed to send the message.

On motion of Mrs. Avery, President Sewall was appointed a committee of one on the management of the headquarters at the Exposition. Discussion of the furnishings of the headquarters followed.

Adjourned.

CHAPTER IX.

THE RELATION OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN
TO THE
WORLD'S CONGRESS OF REPRESENTATIVE WOMEN.

The relation of the National Council of Women of the United States to the World's Congress of Representative Women was so unique in character, so lofty in conception, so generous in helpfulness and so inspiring and important in results, that this volume, which aims to give the history of the National Council, would not be complete without a more extended presentation of the actual relation than appears in the minutes of the executive sessions hereinbefore given.

Such was the spirit shown, and so potent the influence exerted by the National Council in the inception and development of the movement which culminated in one of the most notable events in the onward march of civilization, that it is but justice to include herein a clear statement of the preliminary steps, the plans submitted, the financial support extended (the National Council was the hostess of the foreign delegates) and the generous aid rendered throughout, by the National Council to the World's Congress of Representative Women.

Also it is but justice, as it certainly is most fitting, to give this further record here, in recognition of the unexcelled labors of its two executive officers: the President, Mrs. May Wright Sewall, and the Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, who, as Chairman and Secretary respectively of the Committee of Arrangements of the World's Congress Auxiliary on a Congress of Representative Women, rendered incomparable and distinguished service, adding lustre to the National Council of Women as well as to the Congress of Representative Women.

Hence, in recognition of this distinguished service, and of the importance of the National Council's influence upon that great occasion, and in order to complete the history of the life and work of the National Council of Women, copious extracts are here made from that valuable work, "The Historical Résumé of the World's Congress of Representative Women," edited by May Wright Sewall.

The extracts are made by permission of the publishers, Rand, McNally & Company, Chicago, for which grateful acknowledgment is made, and are reproduced as follows:

From the "Preface," which is signed by Bertha M. H. Palmer, President Woman's Branch W.C.A., and Ellen M. Henrotin, Vice-President Woman's Branch, W.C.A., the following:

* * * * *

"Mrs. May Wright Sewall, as President of the National Council of Women of the United States, in response to the invitations from the officers of the Woman's Branch, and in the absence from Chicago of those officers, wrote to the Hon. Charles C. Bonney, President of the World's Congress Auxiliary, requesting that the quinquennial meeting of the International Council of Women be also held in Chicago as one of the series of World's Congresses.

* * * * *

"At the request of the officers of the Woman's Branch, President Bonney, in replying to Mrs. Sewall, outlined the plan for the Congress of Representative Women, to convene under the direction of, and to be presided over by, the officers of the Woman's Branch; and at the request of those officers, Mrs. May Wright Sewall was invited to become chairman of the Local Committee of Organization.

* * * * *

"Mrs. May Wright Sewall's trip to Europe in the interest of the Congress of Representative Women also bore abundant fruit, and to her untiring efforts were due the presence at the Congress of some of the most brilliant foreign representatives.

* * * * *

"The officers of the Woman's Branch tender their sincere thanks to Mrs. May Wright Sewall, chairman of the Committee of Organization, and Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, the secretary, for the untiring energy and unselfish devotion with which they labored to secure the

success of this unique Congress, and to the members of the Local Committee who faithfully attended committee meetings and who exerted their influence to secure the co-operation of every association in the United States." * * * *

From Chapter I. entitled "Introduction," the following extracts from the opening address made by the Hon. Charles C. Bonney, President of the World's Congress Auxiliary, are made:

* * * * *

"When the representatives of the National and International Councils of Women first called upon me to propose a Congress of their organizations, there was no week subsequent to that of May 15, which could be assigned for such a purpose. Asking these organizations to embrace all representative women whether affiliated with any organization or not, I agreed to hold that week for a short time to give them an opportunity to confer with their associates in regard to its acceptance, and promised, if accepted, to appoint the proper committee of organization for a World's Congress of Representative Women. A few days later I was notified that this work had been accepted, and that the arrangements for the Congress would be prosecuted with the utmost energy and zeal.

* * * * *

"The Committee of Organization was thereupon appointed, consisting of Mrs. May Wright Sewall, chairman, Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, secretary.

* * * * *

"This committee, acting under the general supervision of the President and Vice-President of the Woman's Branch of the World's Congress Auxiliary, entered at once upon its labors. With incomparable ability, energy and zeal they published their plans and purposes throughout the civilized world, in the form of the customary preliminary address issued by the various committees of organization, and soon aroused an intense interest in the proposed Congress. It is but simple justice to say that the burden of the great labor was borne by the distinguished chairman and secretary of the organizing committee. This magnificent assembly, convened in response to the call of the World's Congress Auxiliary, through its Woman's Branch and Woman's Committee of Organization, is the highest possible praise of

the work that has been accomplished, and the highest possible promise of a successful, harmonious and world-influencing Congress."

* * * * *

From Chapter II., entitled "Preparations," written by the editor, May Wright Sewall, the following extracts are made:—

"The inception of the World's Congress of Representative Women may be traced back to February, 1891, when the National Council of Women of the United States, then in session in Washington, D.C., decided to recommend to the officers of the International Council of Women that the first quinquennial session of the International Council should be held in Chicago in the summer of 1893, instead of in London as originally intended. This decision was reinforced by the very cordial invitation of Mrs. Potter Palmer, who attended the sessions of the National Council as the delegate of the Board of Lady Managers, and as President of the Woman's Branch of the World's Congress Auxiliary. In her address before the Council, Mrs. Palmer said: 'The Board of Lady Managers most cordially and pressingly invites this Council to hold its international meeting in Chicago at the time of the Columbian Exposition, when it will place at the service of the ladies the Assembly Room in the Woman's Building; and, should that not prove large enough, through our Congress Auxiliary the magnificent auditorium can be secured for the meeting of the International Council of Women.'

"This invitation was supplemented by a similar one from Mrs. Charles Henrotin, Vice-President of the Woman's Branch of the World's Congress Auxiliary, who also was in attendance at the Council sessions.

"In pursuance of the plan thus initiated, the American officers of the International Council obtained the consent of the foreign officers to the proposed change from London to Chicago. The Executive Committee of the National Council of Women of the United States pledged the National Council to entertain, free of expense, all foreign delegates while in attendance upon the proposed meeting of the International Council.

"The call for the meeting of the International Council in Chicago was promptly issued, accompanied by the pledge of entertainment above referred to, and both call and pledge were given wide publicity through the home and foreign press, and through private and official correspondence, in the early summer of 1891. The documents bear date May 31, 1891.

“ In due time, as the plan of the World's Congress Auxiliary developed, the officers of the National Council of Women of the United States entered into correspondence with the Hon. Charles C. Bonney, President of the World's Congress Auxiliary, requesting that the quinquennial meeting of the International Council of Women, announced for the summer of 1893, should be adopted as one of the series of congresses organized by the Auxiliary, with the understanding that its scope should be enlarged to the greatest possible extent; that it should take the name of ‘ The World's Congress of Representative Women ; and that it should be subject to the same rules and enjoy the same privileges as the other congresses in the series.

“ This formal application from the officers of the National Council of Women of the United States was made by its President, Mrs. May Wright Sewall of Indianapolis, under date of May 29, 1892. In reply, President Bonney wrote as follows, under date of June 1, 1892 :

MRS. MAY WRIGHT SEWALL.

President National Council of Women of the United States, Indianapolis, Ind.

Dear Madam : The application of the National Council of Women of the United States for a World's Congress of Representative Women, in the series of Congresses to be held at Chicago during the Exposition season of 1893, under the auspices of the World's Congress Auxiliary, is allowed, and, in accordance with your request, the week beginning May 15, 1893, is assigned for the proposed Congress.

“ Mr. Bonney, at the request of the officers of the Woman's Branch of the Auxiliary, at once appointed Mrs. May Wright Sewall chairman of the committee in charge of the preparations for this Congress. Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, Corresponding Secretary of the National and International Councils of Women, was made the secretary of the committee. To these two ladies was thus committed the task of laying the plans, shaping the programme and corresponding with leading organizations and individuals in all countries, with a view to securing their support and participation. The committee was completed by the addition of Dr. Sarah Hackett Stevenson, Dr. Julia Holmes Smith, Mrs. John C. Coonley, Miss Frances E. Willard, Mrs. Elizabeth Boynton Harbert and Mrs. William Thayer Brown, all of Chicago. All the work of this committee was subject to the approval of the head of the Congress Auxiliary, Hon. Charles C. Bonney of Chicago, and also to that of the President and the Vice-President of the Woman's Branch of

the Auxiliary, Mrs. Potter Palmer and Mrs. Charles Henrotin, both of Chicago.

“ The following extracts from the initial correspondence between President Bonney of the Congress Auxiliary and Mrs. May Wright Sewall, President of the National Council of Women, will show in clear detail the gradual development of the plan, from the mere holding of a session of the International Council of Women to the convening of a World's Congress of Representative Women.

“ There are unavoidable repetitions in the following letters, which it is hoped will be pardoned in consideration of the importance of setting forth fully the preparatory steps of this great undertaking.

INDIANAPOLIS, May 19, 1892.

HON. CHARLES C. BONNEY,

President of the World's Congress Auxiliary of the World's Columbian Exposition.

My Dear Sir: At the recent meeting of the Executive Committee of the National Council of Women of the United States, held in Chicago on May 9 and 10, it was decided to make to the Board which you represent certain requests.

May I preface these requests with a statement explanatory of the character of the International Council? In the year 1888, at the close of the International Council of Women, convened in Washington, D.C., two permanent organizations were effected—the National Council of Women of the United States, and the International Council of Women, representing the world. It was decided that the International Council should be convened in five years, that is, in 1893, and it was then intended to convene it in London. However, when the Columbian Exposition was set for 1893, Chicago became the proper place for the meeting of the International Council. More than a year ago, at the first triennial meeting of the National Council of Women of the United States, Mrs. Potter Palmer of Chicago offered the National Council a room in the Woman's Building for its headquarters during the Columbian Exposition; and Mrs. Charles Henrotin, in speaking for the Congress Auxiliary, assured the Council that, in making preparations for convening the International Council in Chicago, reliance could be placed upon the board managing the Congress Auxiliary for help in securing ample announcements, halls for the sessions, printing, etc.

Supported by these voluntary pledges of Mrs. Palmer and Mrs. Henrotin, the National Council commenced its correspondence one year ago, issued its preliminary call and undertook to entertain all foreign delegates during the time of the sessions of the International Council in Chicago. To give you a fuller comprehension of the scope of both International and National Councils, I shall send you herewith a copy of the report of the first sessions of each body.

With this preliminary statement, may I set forth our requests? First, we should be glad to have the International Council of Women convene prior to the World's Woman's Temperance Congress, because, as it does not exist

for the propagation of any one object, but for the cultivation of a larger mutual sympathy and intelligence among the advocates for different objects, it seems proper that it should precede and introduce the other congresses. Second, if the first request cannot be granted, or in any case we desire to be authorized to issue our call for an indefinite approximate date between May 15 and June 15, 1893. Third, we wish to have fourteen public sessions of the Council, which will necessitate the Council lasting one week at the very least. Fourth, we desire to apply for one of the large auditoriums and for five of the smaller rooms in the Art Palace, during the sessions of the International Council.

From my conversation with you on last Saturday, I feel confident that you will be able to accede to our requests. It seems necessary to issue a preliminary call at once, because it is our intention to secure for our programme the strongest women in the world to represent the different departments of activity in which women are engaged.

Asking such an immediate reply as will warrant the officers of the National Council in assuring the officers of the International Council of their ability to redeem pledges already made and to go forward with necessary correspondence and preparations, I have the honor to subscribe myself,

Yours, with high esteem,

MAY WRIGHT SEWALL.

CHICAGO, U.S.A., May 26, 1892.

MRS. MAY WRIGHT SEWALL,

President National Council of Women of the United States, Indianapolis, Ind.

Dear Madam: Your favor of the 19th inst., in which you request an assignment of dates for a congress of your organization, prior to the World's Temperance Congress to be held during the first week of June, 1893; and if that request cannot be granted, an assignment of some date for such a congress between May 15 and June 15 of next year; and expressing a desire for meetings of your Council, extending through a week, including sessions in one of the large auditoriums of the World's Congress Art Palace, and special meetings in five smaller rooms, came duly to hand and has received preliminary attention. The communication of the same date, in which Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, Corresponding Secretary of your Council, joins, has also been received.

While I cannot, at this time, make a definite assignment of the Art Palace rooms for the use of your Council, I think it safe to say that arrangements can be made for a congress of your own and allied women's organizations, to be held within one or two weeks of the date fixed for the congresses of the Department of Temperance. I expect to be able to give definite dates for the various congresses by the first of July, next.

Should an application be made, as was suggested in your interview with me, for a general congress of women, under the leadership of your organization, to be held during the week commencing May 15, 1893, very much better facilities can be afforded than will be practicable at any later date. * * * *

As expressed in the interview to which I have referred, it seems to me peculiarly appropriate that in this century, so highly distinguished by the advancement of women in nearly all the departments of human progress, aside from the particular congresses in which her work will, more or less, be set forth, an occasion should be arranged in which a graphic presentation of the whole scope of woman's advancement may be made under the most auspicious circumstances.

Cordially inviting all and any such further suggestions as you may be pleased to make, and awaiting with special interest the decision whether an application for such a woman's congress will be made, I am, my dear Mrs. Sewall,

Very sincerely yours,

CHARLES C. BONNEY,
President World's Congress Auxiliary.

INDIANAPOLIS, IND., May 28, 1892.

HON. CHARLES C. BONNEY.

President of the World's Congress Auxiliary, Chicago, Ill.

My Dear Sir: Yours of May 26, in reply to mine of the 19th inst., has been duly received and carefully read. I fear that my request was less definitely and carefully made than I intended it to be. I intended it to be framed in strict accordance with the general understanding reached in our interview. What the officers of the National Council really desire is this — that a general congress of women shall be convened under the leadership of the National Council of Women of the United States.

We wish it to be prefatory to all other meetings of women, and the only reason that I did not specify the week beginning May 15 was because I understood that you preferred the request as to date to be more general. If you can at once grant permission to convene this congress at this date, our organization will gladly avail itself of this time.

We expect to be subject to the general rules and regulations of the World's Congress Auxiliary, and feel that our own work will be dignified by this association.

If I receive a favorable reply, as from the tone of your letter and our interview I anticipate, I shall at once issue the preliminary address in conjunction with the President of the International Council for this general congress of women. I have the honor to remain,

Yours very sincerely,

MAY WRIGHT SEWALL,
President National Council of Women of the United States.

CHICAGO, U.S.A., June 1, 1892.

MRS. MAY WRIGHT SEWALL.

President National Council of Women of the United States, Indianapolis, Ind.

Dear Madam: Your favor of May 28 was duly received, and has had attention. The application of the National Council of Women of the United

States for a World's Congress of Representative Women, in the series of congresses to be held in Chicago during the Exposition season of 1893, under the auspices of the World's Congress Auxiliary, is allowed, and in accordance with your request the week beginning May 15, 1893, is assigned for the proposed congress. * * * *

As in all the other cases, the general sessions of the Congress will be under the direction of the World's Congress Auxiliary, and, as in other cases of congresses of women, under the special supervision of the officers of the Woman's Branch of the Auxiliary; but, of course, in those general sessions your own and other general organizations of women will be most conspicuously represented. The sessions of the congress of your own organization will, of course, be held under your own officers; and the same rule will apply to any other organization, like the Federation of Women's Clubs.

To secure the necessary unity and completeness of the programme for the entire Congress of Women, the programmes for the various sessions, both general and special, will be arranged in a conference with representatives of the important interests involved.

All to whom I have mentioned the matter believe that the proposed Congress of Representative Women of the World may be made a brilliant and imposing success. * * * *

I have the honor to remain,

Very sincerely yours,

CHARLES C. BONNEY,
President World's Congress Auxiliary.

SOMERTON, PHILADELPHIA, PA., June 13, 1892.

HON. CHARLES C. BONNEY.

President of the World's Congress Auxiliary.

My Dear Sir: Your two letters of June 1 and June 4, together containing very full replies to mine of May 28, have been carefully reread with Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, the Corresponding Secretary of the National Council of Women, with whom I have conferred upon every point.

We thank you for the ample information your letters afford concerning the general plan of the World's Congress Auxiliary, and the requirements with which all associations must comply which seek to hold meetings under its auspices in Chicago, in 1893. As we understand them, we find all of these requirements not only reasonable, but helpful. That we may be guarded against any possible misconception, and be able to prosecute our work energetically during the summer, will you permit me to recapitulate the situation at some length?

First. All announcements of this General International Council of Women must bear on their title page the names of the officers of the World's Congress Auxiliary, and of the different officers of the Woman's Branch of said Auxiliary; but may be signed by the names of the local Committee of Arrangements and of the Advisory Councils.

Second. The chairmanship of the local Committee of Arrangements is offered to me. This I accept, and pledge myself to come to Chicago as fre-

quently, prior to the meetings, as may be necessary to perform the duties implied by the position. * * * *

Third. In our subsequent calls and programmes we shall wish, besides our local committee, to provide for two Advisory Councils — one American and one foreign. * * * *

In respect to these Advisory Councils, we ask these privileges: We ask to have the summer to correspond with leaders, at home and abroad, within and outside of organizations. In this way we shall prepare representative lists — representative both of diverse ideas and also of widely separated territory, home and foreign. Before publishing these lists they will be submitted to you for amendments, both by excision and by addition. Our organization includes so many different groups that we believe this is the best possible means of securing truly representative names on our two Advisory Councils.

Fourth. We accept May 15 as the date of this International Congress, knowing that it may be shifted a few days later, but understanding that it shall not be set earlier than that date. * * * *

Fifth. Our desire about the programme is your own. We wish every line of progress along which woman has advanced to be represented on the programme by its ablest exponent. We wish to avoid repetition within our own programme, and also to avoid duplicating in our programme the papers to be presented in subsequent congresses. Therefore, we shall gladly submit to you every name and topic, and shall expect the aid of your counsel at every step.

Sixth. The correspondence involved in the foregoing statements will be largely in the hands of Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, who is Corresponding Secretary of the International as well as the National Council of Women, though I shall also give my time to co-operating with her and with Mrs. Fawcett to secure the success of this gigantic undertaking.

You understand that the work of the National Council to this end was begun one year ago, on May 30, 1891, when its Executive Committee passed a resolution to entertain all foreign delegates who should attend the International Council of Women to be convened in Chicago during the Columbian Exposition of 1893. This resolution was sent at that time to the leaders of all organized effort in foreign countries, and for the past year such leaders have been working with this meeting in view. National Councils have been formed in France, Scandinavia and Finland similar to our own, while in other countries leaders have been working toward such a consummation.

You will see from this that we are now prepared for public steps.

Seventh. The first public step is the second preliminary address, the first having been issued through women's papers at home and abroad nearly a year ago.

We suppose that it will be your desire to have this address printed in a style uniform with the preliminary addresses of other congresses and issued from your office. I mail you herewith the copy of the address that seems appropriate to us. We, of course, wish this congress to have the prestige which can come from showing its relation to former International Councils of women. Should you wish to revise the address in any way, will you kindly communicate with Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery? And in any case will you send

her proof of the address before it is published? I am myself going abroad for a few weeks, my main purpose being to arouse the women of Germany and of other countries where there is less public activity among women than there is in England and France, to a sense of what this General Congress of Women will be to all who participate or who are represented in it. So soon as this preliminary address is issued, will you kindly send me a hundred copies to distribute abroad? I shall also see that it is translated and published in progressive foreign papers. * * * *

Eighth. Your plan of presenting as many different celebrities as possible to the audience, and of "distributing honors and dignities," is in entire accord with the fundamental idea upon which the International and National Councils are based. I assure you we do not wish to exclude, but to include, as many different lines of work, as many different exponents of progressive thought, and as many distinguished women as can be convened, by the continual harmonious effort of all of us, in the International Council of 1893, which will, I suppose, be known as the General World's Congress of Women.

We do, of course, wish to recognize the continuity of effort which makes this congress, in its magnitude and representative character, possible. This is clearly indicated in our preliminary address and call.

Copies of this letter and of the manuscript of the address will be sent to Mrs. Palmer and Mrs. Henrotin that they may have a clear conception of our view of the plan and the manner in which it is to be executed.

I thank you, dear Mr. Bonney, in advance for the patience which you will exercise in reading this long letter, and beg to assure you that I am profoundly grateful for the cordial sympathy which you have thus far given us, and which I am certain you will continue to extend to us until our plans are accomplished. I have the honor to remain,

Yours with high esteem,

MAY WRIGHT SEWALL,

President of National Council of Women of the United States.

"With the letter of June 13, above given, was sent the manuscript copy of the Preliminary Address, copies being forwarded also to the President and the Vice-President of the Woman's Branch of the World's Congress Auxiliary. Immediately after the despatch of these documents the Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements sailed for Europe, leaving further correspondence in charge of the Secretary, who received from Mr. Bonney, under date of June 27, the following communication, approving the draft of the Preliminary Address and the various propositions offered by the chairman in her letter of June 13.

CHICAGO, U.S.A., June 27, 1892. .

MRS. RACHEL FOSTER AVERY,

Corresponding Secretary of the National Council of Women, United States, Somerton, Pa.

Dear Madam: Please accept my thanks for your recent favors. Your note of the 17th inst., inclosing a copy of the constitution of the National Council of Women, and a copy of the constitution of the International Council came duly to hand, and the communication of your president, Mrs. May Wright Sewall, accompanied by a draft of the Preliminary Address of the Committee on a World's Congress of Representative Women, had previously been received. I have taken time to reconsider carefully the whole subject of the proposed congress, and I take pleasure in saying that I am strongly confirmed in the conviction expressed to you, Mrs. Sewall and others, that this congress may be one of the most brilliant and useful in the entire series proposed by the World's Congress Auxiliary. I am also glad to say that the proposed Preliminary Address, and the views expressed by Mrs. Sewall in her communication, have my hearty approval; and while I will reserve the liberty to make any suggestions for which there may seem to be cause hereafter, I do not now see occasion to advise any change in the plans thus far outlined.

* * * * I propose that the Woman's Congress shall have a department of its own, to be called the "Department of Woman's Progress." This will be better than assigning such a congress either to the Department of Moral and Social Reform or to the General Department. Any suggestions in relation to the title of the new department will be cordially received.

Please have the kindness to convey to Mrs. Sewall, with the foregoing information, my high regard and my congratulations on the auspicious outlook for the Congress of Representative Women.

With the like respect and congratulations for yourself, I remain, my dear Mrs. Avery,

Very sincerely yours,

CHARLES C. BONNEY,

President World's Congress Auxiliary.

* * * * *

"After this proposed meeting of the International Council of Women had been merged into the greater project of a World's Congress of Representative Women under the auspices of the World's Congress Auxiliary, Mrs. Sewall naturally devoted herself, during the three months spent in Germany, Belgium and France, in the ensuing summer, to awakening among the prominent women with whom she came in contact an interest in the proposed World's Congress of Representative Women. While invested with no official authority to represent the Auxiliary, Mrs. Sewall was greatly aided in her efforts by her position as chairman of the Committee of Arrangements, and by her connection with the National and International Councils of Women, the

essential features of which were already well known abroad, and served to divest the idea of a World's Congress of Women of much of the strangeness it would otherwise have assumed in the minds of foreign women. The main objects to be accomplished in this foreign work were as follows :

“ *First.* To make clear the distinction between the World's Columbian Exposition, the Board of Lady Managers, the World's Congress Auxiliary, with its Woman's Branch, and the National and International Councils of Women, these bodies being naturally confounded continually and almost hopelessly, by those who hear of them only through the vague paragraphs of the foreign press.

“ *Second.* To impart a clear understanding of the magnitude of the proposed congress, both as a whole and in its infinite details and subdivisions.

“ *Third.* To show the exact nature of the papers and reports desired from European delegates, and the character of the subjects to be treated.

“ *Fourth.* To stimulate the foreign women to appoint delegates from organizations already existing, and to form new organizations to be represented in like manner.

“ *Fifth.* To encourage individuals to come to Chicago whether connected with organized bodies or not.

“ *Sixth.* To endeavor to reach the general European public through reports, interviews and articles published in the European press.

“ *Seventh.* To combat unceasingly not only the general apathy in regard to a project too remote in time and place, but also the specific objections everywhere encountered, based upon the date chosen for the congress, which did not fall within the foreign vacation period, upon the length, hazard and cost of the journey, and upon the grossly exaggerated reports of the expense of living in Chicago, and the heat of Chicago summers. * * * *

“ In addition to the interest aroused in these influential groups of German, Belgian and French women by the visit and personal solicitations of the chairman of the Committee of Arrangements, wide publicity was given to her addresses by the press of France, Russia, Belgium, England and Italy, and thus the scope of the great congress was made known to many thousands of European women of influence in their respective localities.

“ Mrs. Sewall returned to this country early in September. Meanwhile Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, in her office at Somerton, Pa., was planning and carrying out a voluminous and searching correspondence with prominent individuals in this and other countries, and especially with the executive officers of every national body of women at home and abroad, preparing the way for the selection and appointment of prominent women from every nation on the Advisory Councils, for the selection of persons to prepare papers for the General Congress and reports for the Report Congresses, and for the formal enrollment of all national organizations of women as members of the World's Congress of Representative Women, entitled to send delegates thereto, and to hold department congresses in connection therewith. The responses to the appeals thus made by the secretary were so promptly and so generally sympathetic that it became immediately evident that a wide-spread interest was aroused, and that the success of the congress was assured. Every precaution was taken to place the movement on the broadest plane, and thus allay any apprehensions of unfair treatment that might arise on the part of weaker or younger organizations.

“ After the simple facts regarding the inception of the plan had been stated, all organizations were placed upon exactly the same level, and all official documents issued reiterated in appropriate terms the assurance that all organizations, whether large or small in membership and influence, stood upon an equal footing in the opportunities granted to each by the committee charged with the preparations for the programme of the great congress. The spirit of fairness was so manifest in all the preliminary work of the committee that organization after organization gave in its formal adhesion to the congress, until scarcely a national woman's organization in the United States or in Europe stood aloof. * * * *

“ From the time of the return of the chairman of the committee from abroad, in September, 1892, until the opening of the congress, on May 15, 1893, an uninterrupted correspondence was carried on between the chairman of the committee in Indianapolis and the secretary of the committee in Philadelphia, and between these officers and the executive officers of the Auxiliary in Chicago. This correspondence was summarized and tabulated from time to time, and the results submitted to the Committee of Arrangements, which held meetings in Chicago upon the call of the Woman's Branch of the Auxiliary. Four such meetings, including eight sessions, were held between October 1 and May 15, and all matters of importance were passed upon after

deliberation in full committee. The reports submitted to these meetings by the chairman and the secretary show that from their offices alone there were issued 7,198 sealed letters, home and foreign, and 55,000 printed documents. The records of the Chicago office of the Auxiliary would largely increase these totals.

“ This correspondence, a considerable portion of which was in foreign languages, occupied the entire time of the chairman of the committee and her secretary, and of the secretary of the committee, with from two to eight clerks in her office, for the nine months ending May 15, 1893.

“ The greater part of the enormous load was carried by the secretary of the committee, Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, to whose familiarity with business methods, accuracy in detail, intelligence in plan, skill in execution, comprehensive grasp of multifarious lines of work, and unfailing industry, unstinted praise is due. Without her efficient aid success on the scale actually achieved would have been impossible.

“ The other ladies included in the Committee of Arrangements, Dr. Sarah Hackett Stevenson, Dr. Julia Holmes Smith, Mrs. Elizabeth Boynton Harbert, Mrs. William Thayer Brown, Mrs. John C. Coonley and Mrs. Matilda B. Case (whom upon her own departure for Europe Miss Frances E. Willard nominated as her substitute), rendered invaluable assistance by the weight of their names, by regular attendance upon the meetings of the committee, and by intelligent and sympathetic discussion and decision of the many delicate and puzzling questions that came before them.

“ Unfailing courtesy, sympathy and sound advice was expected and received from President Bonney, to whose generous devotion to the great cause intrusted to him was largely due the signal success of the long series of world's congresses of 1893.

“ Mrs. Potter Palmer manifested towards those engaged in this arduous labor the same fairness of temper, quickness of perception, fertility of resource, soundness of judgment and unfailing tact that have distinguished her in such marked degree since she entered upon her high position as President of the Board of Lady Managers. Although her exacting duties in other lines did not permit her to attend to the details of the work of this committee, she was frequently present at its meetings, and, whether present or absent, was always felt as a power upon which the committee could rely in every difficulty.

“ Mrs. Charles Henrotin, as nominal Vice-President, and acting President of the Woman's Branch of the Auxiliary, devoted herself

with untiring assiduity to the supervision of the countless details involved in organizing the woman's side of the various congresses; and by interviews, correspondence and personal direction, as presiding officer of the deliberations of the committee, was a potent factor in the preliminary work of the World's Congress of Representative Women.

"Recognition should also be made of the unfailing courtesy and cordial co-operation of the secretary of the Auxiliary, Mr. Clarence E. Young.

"The preliminary labors outlined above resulted in the completion in good season of the following programme, of which seven editions of 10,000 copies each were distributed among the audiences that thronged the Art Institute during the memorable week of May 15 to 22. Every name appearing on this programme was placed there by formal consent of its owner, after adequate correspondence. Each address, discussion or report for the multitudinous meetings of the congress was pledged in advance. The programme was carried out almost intact; and this fact, combined with careful attention to detail in all matters devolving upon the Committee of Arrangements, contributed very largely to the unprecedented success of the congress." * * * *

CHAPTER X.

CALL FOR MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.*

HELD IN PHILADELPHIA, MAY 7 AND 8, 1894.

Early in the history of the National Council of Women of the United States, it was found necessary, in order to carry on its work with proper deliberation, that annual meetings of its Executive Committee should be held. Such Annual Meetings of the Executive Committee have been held as follows : the first in Indianapolis in May, 1891; the second in Chicago in May, 1892; and the third in Chicago in May, 1893.

By the constitutional plan of triennial meetings, the second triennial session of the Council would have been held in Washington in 1894. When, however, in 1891, it was determined that the National Council of Women should take the initiative in convening in this country a meeting of the International Council in 1893, it was voted that the regular sessions of the National Council should be postponed for one year, hence the next meeting of the National Council of Women of the United States will be held in Washington in February of 1895. The next meeting, therefore, of the Executive Committee will be of unusual importance. Before it will be laid full reports by the President, Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer, as well as by the Recording Secretary of the work in their respective departments of the National Council since 1891.

This will cover the work of the Council in relation to the World's Congress of Representative Women, and to its exhibition in the Woman's Building during the Columbian Exposition of 1893.

Owing to the work of the Council in relation to the International Council during the last two years, its work proper in our own country, while not neglected, has been sensibly diminished. Unusual activity will therefore be necessary, not only on the part of the General Officers, but on the part of all the organizations belonging to the Council, to make the sessions of 1895 fulfil the plans proposed in the address of its first President, Frances E. Willard, and in the statement subsequently issued by the present officers of the Council.

* This call for a meeting of the Executive Committee was issued from the office of the Corresponding Secretary, early in 1894.

Owing to the initiative taken by the National Council, Local Councils are rapidly springing up throughout the country, each in its own community applying to local needs the principles of individual organic liberty and mutual helpfulness among organized bodies, now so generally recognized as the dominant principles in what has come to be popularly known as the "Council Idea."

One important question to be settled by the Executive Committee at its approaching meeting is the relation of Local Councils to the National Council, and the representation to which Local Councils shall be entitled at the sessions of the National Council in its meeting in 1895.

The general outlines of the programme of that meeting will also be determined by the Executive Committee at this time; therefore, the approaching meeting will be a meeting not only of the Executive Committee, but also of the Committee of Arrangements.

The Executive Committee is constituted of the General Officers and the Presidents of all organizations belonging to the Council, while the Committee of Arrangements includes the Executive Committee and one delegate from each of the organizations belonging to the Council. Members of the Committee of Arrangements, who are not members of the Executive Committee, will in the coming meeting be entitled to speak upon all questions that should come before the Executive Committee for its consideration, but will be entitled to vote only on such questions as are usually entrusted to the Committee of Arrangements.

All Patrons of the National Council are cordially invited to be present at the meeting of the Executive Committee and the Committee of Arrangements, when they will enjoy the privilege of participating in discussion of all questions that arise, of proposing questions and even motions. Patrons, however, have no vote. Although reasons for this have been frequently stated, it cannot perhaps be too often reiterated that the central thought of the Council Idea is the equal representation in its deliberations and its policy of all the ideas and objects represented by the organizations belonging to the Council; therefore it is that the membership of an organization does not affect the number of votes that it has in the Council, where each organization belonging to it has one vote on all questions that come before the Executive Committee, and two votes on all questions that come before the Committee of Arrangements, and where no one else, excepting the General Officers of the Council, has any vote. The vote allowed to the General Officers is, of course, allowed on the understanding that the General Officers of the Council, as such, represent no organization belonging to the Council, but stand only for the fair application of the Council Idea to all work undertaken by it as a whole.

It is hoped that every organization belonging to the Council will, at the approaching meeting in May, be represented by both its President and one delegate, and that all Patrons of the Council will be present at the meeting.

At the present juncture nothing is more necessary to the interests of the organized work of women in the United States than that an accurate knowledge of the history, the objects and the methods of the Council, and a just conception of the Council Idea shall be spread and propagated throughout the country.

The proposed meeting of the Executive Committee and Committee of Arrangements will be held on the 7th and 8th of May in the city of Philadelphia. The local preparations are in the hands of Rachel Foster Avery, Somerton, Philadelphia, Corresponding Secretary of the National Council of Women, to whom all those preparing to attend this meeting are requested to write.

MAY WRIGHT SEWALL,

*President of the National Council of Women of the U.S., and
General Vice-President of the International Council.*

RACHEL FOSTER AVERY,

*Corresponding Secretary of the National Council of Women
of the United States.*

MINUTES OF THE MEETING
OF THE
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

HELD IN THE CONTINENTAL HOTEL, PHILADELPHIA, MAY 7 AND 8, 1894.

MORNING SESSION, MAY 7.

The house was called to order at 11.15 A.M., the President, Mrs. May Wright Sewall, in the chair.

The roll was called by the Recording Secretary, Mrs. Isabella Charles Davis, the following persons eligible to the meeting being present:

President, Mrs. May Wright Sewall; Treasurer, Mrs. Lillian M. N. Stevens; Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery; Recording Secretary, Mrs. Isabella Charles Davis.

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION,
Proxy of President, Mrs. Ellen Battelle Dietrick.
Delegate, Miss Lucy E. Anthony.

WOMAN'S CENTENARY ASSOCIATION OF THE UNIVERSALIST CHURCH,
Proxy of President, Mrs. M. Louise Thomas.
Delegate, Mrs. E. A. Townsend.

NATIONAL WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION,
Proxy of President, Mrs. Cornelia E. Morehead.

WIMODAUGHSIS,
President, Miss Emma M. Gillett.
Delegate, Mrs. Jennette M. Bradley.

NATIONAL CHRISTIAN LEAGUE FOR THE PROMOTION OF SOCIAL PURITY,
President, Mrs. Elizabeth B. Grannis.
Delegate, Madame Clara Van Norman.

UNIVERSAL PEACE UNION,
Proxy of President, Mrs. Sarah A. Russell.
Delegate, Dr. Sarah T. Rogers-Eavenson.

INTERNATIONAL KINDERGARTEN UNION,
Proxy of President, Miss Sarah A. Stewart.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF LOYAL WOMEN OF AMERICAN LIBERTY,
President, Mrs. I. C. Manchester.
Delegate, Mrs. Abbie A. C. Peaslee.

WOMAN'S FOREIGN MISSIONARY UNION OF FRIENDS,
Proxy of President, Mrs. Rebecca W. Cadbury.
Delegate, Mrs. Ellen W. Longstreth.

WOMAN'S RELIEF CORPS, AUXILIARY TO THE GRAND ARMY OF THE
REPUBLIC,
President, Mrs. Sarah C. Mink.
Delegate, Mrs. Kate Brownlee Sherwood.

PATRONS,
Mrs. Emina J. Bartol.
Mrs. Louise Downs Quigley.

It was moved and seconded that the hospitality of the Council be extended to the following guests: Mrs. Margaret D. Chislett of Indianapolis, and Madame Jaffe and daughter of San Francisco. [Carried.]

The minutes of the meeting of the Executive Committee held May 22, 1893, in the parlor of the Palmer House, Chicago, were read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary called attention to the fact that the Council had had large accessions to its strength since the last meeting by the entrance of three new societies: The Woman's Foreign Missionary Union of Friends, the Woman's Relief Corps, Auxiliary to the Grand Army of the Republic, and the National Association of Women Stenographers.

The Secretary then read a letter from Miss Netta G. McLaughlin, President of the National Association of Women Stenographers, and a greeting from Mrs. Sarah B. Cooper, President of the International Kindergarten Union. In connection with the latter, Miss Sarah A. Stewart, Mrs. Cooper's proxy in the meeting, gave a little sketch of the work of the International Kindergarten Union.

Report of the Treasurer.

RECEIPTS.

Of former Treasurer	\$ 602.08
Patron fees	4,600.00
Membership fees	1,050.71
Gifts to Hospitality Fund	471.00
Gifts to General Work, etc.	679.52
Gift from Rachel Foster Avery	1,500.00
Total	<u>\$8,903.31</u>

EXPENDITURES.

First Triennial of the Council, 1891.	\$ 516.57	
Clerical help, postage, printing, etc., for President's office	1,115.00	
Clerical help, postage, printing, etc., for Corresponding Secretary's office	1,757.76	
Hospitality connected with World's Congress of Representative Women	2,190.85	
Cost of Exhibition in the Woman's Bldg. and printing, postage, stenographers, etc., for the Congress of Representative Women	1,822.15	
Paid on bill of Mrs. Avery for expenditures for Council work	1,500.00	
		\$8,902.33
Cash on hand . . . . .		.98
		<u>\$8,903.31</u>

OUTSTANDING BILLS.

Mrs. Avery, for money advanced for Council work,	\$1,844.34	
Mrs. Sewall, for money advanced for Council work,	1,101.80	
		<u>\$2,946.14</u>

N.B.—The work of the National Council in entertaining the foreign delegates at the World's Congress of Representative Women at Chicago, and its work for the Congress, and the cost of exhibition in the Woman's Building, etc., are the reasons for the extraordinary expenses during this administration.

In response to the Treasurer's request, it was moved and seconded that the Chair appoint Auditors to audit the accounts. [Carried.]

Mrs. Sarah A. Russell, Proxy of the President of the Universal Peace Union, and Miss Sarah A. Stewart, Proxy of the President of the International Kindergarten Union, were appointed to serve in this capacity.

Mrs. I. C. Manchester, President of the National Association of Loyal Women of American Liberty, stated that her association had paid its fee in the summer of 1893, and asked if any part of its fee for the Triennial of 1898 would be due before the summer of 1896.

The Chair replied that the fee in question would not be due until three months prior to the Triennial of 1898, but that it was left to the option of the association to pay the whole or any part of the fee before three months prior to the Triennial; that some societies preferred to pay their fees in annual installments of \$33.33.

By unanimous consent, on the request of the President, the reading of her report was postponed, and the reports of the Standing Committees were called for.

The report of the chairman of the Dress Committee was read, as follows :

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON DRESS.

To the Executive Committee of the National Council of Women: Your Committee on Dress, having obeyed the specific instructions given with its appointment to prepare a symposium on Woman's Dress, and to present its idea of an every-day business dress for women, has had no very definite business on hand since the Columbian Exposition. At the Dress Session during the Congress of Representative Women an informal report of our progress up to date was presented. The immediate decision concerning that Dress Session of the N.C.W., telegraphed throughout the country, was that it was a "success." Though it was not all that we had hoped, it accomplished the main purpose, and brought the idea for which we are working effectually and favorably before the public. It would have been a great pity to have missed so unusual an opportunity. During the whole summer much good seed-sowing for dress reform was done in an unofficial way at the great Fair. In the meantime many letters of inquiry and sympathy were received by the chairman of this committee from those, who, like herself, were condemned to stay at home. The *Arena* articles on Dress, with the illustrations, increased the interest in the subject and brought more letters, as does every article published on the subject. The calls for our report on Dress have gradually lessened and nearly ceased, but many are asking for the pattern of the Boston Rational Dress advertised in the *Arena* as worn by Mrs Flower and her friends. The pattern is supplied by ladies in Boston. The public has treated our various styles of dress very kindly, and the dual dress in some form is growing familiar in the bicycle suit as well as in physical culture classes. These receive favorable comment and illustration in the daily papers. There are indications everywhere of a great change in public opinion within the year, and of an inquiring mind and desire for radical improvement in woman's dress.

Little effort has been made within the year to increase the number of signatures of leading women appended to the paper of "consent to give their influence" in favor of this movement. Collecting signatures by mail is slow and tedious work, especially in summer when people are scattered; and the main object of that paper had been accomplished when about 1,500 names had been secured before the Columbian Exposition. That object was to arouse thought on the subject and a prejudice in favor of the movement to give an impetus in the beginning. A paper for men to sign, attesting their approbation of the effort women were making to secure for themselves healthful, convenient and artistic dress, was circulated slowly during the fall and early winter and was signed by men whose names carry great weight. With the approbation of the President of the Council this paper has now been printed for more general circulation among men, especially in co-educational colleges, to be accompanied by a corresponding paper for women. Copies of both these papers for circulation are offered with this report, also of the leaflets to ac-

company them. I ordered five hundred copies of each of the papers for signature and three thousand of the leaflets which are headed by Tennyson's lines. The bills were sent to the Treasurer of the Council and have been paid. The small leaflets, suggesting the formation of circles for mutual help, were printed at my request from an article of mine for the *Woman's Journal* while it was in type, and kindly sent by Miss Blackwell without the expected bill. The appeal by Mrs. Stowe was printed at my own expense a year ago, a copy being inserted in every copy of our report on Dress sent out by me, with another leaflet at my own expense explaining that the designs offered were not final but only as suggestions of two forms to be varied and adapted to individual taste. There has been great delay in sending out these new papers for signature. At last I have the list of addresses, and I now wait for the card copies of the *Venus de Milo* from the plate used in Mrs. Ecob's "Well-Dressed Woman," which her publishers have promised me this week. These will be furnished gratis, bearing a short advertisement of the book on the reverse side of the card. I think there is almost sure to be a demand for more literature in the way of tracts and leaflets than I am able now to supply.

The tract printed a year ago containing extracts from the writings of Gail Hamilton, Elizabeth Stuart Phelps and Mrs. Stowe will be useful. Considerable postage will be required immediately. I have already used more than has been supplied me by the Council.

The committee has taken no united formal action since my last report. Mrs. Jenness Miller was able to do better work than any of the rest of us at the Columbian Exposition and has carried on her magazine and done her lecturing as usual. Mrs. Parker was ill from nervous prostration at the time of the Exposition, but has unabated interest in the work of the committee. Miss Bates is expected to be able to report for herself in person at your meeting. Miss Lee has made a wide and good impression, partly through the *Arena's* help, and much strengthened, no doubt, by the wife of its editor. Both have supplied many applicants with patterns of the modification of the Syrian skirt, which they have named the "Boston Rational Dress." Some of us who have tried this pattern hope for something still more rational before long. The attempt to make trousers look and behave like a skirt can never be very satisfactory.

Mrs. Bertha Morris Smith has done some work in connection with the W.C.T.U. and Mrs. Sloane in California; Mrs. Johnson, the last appointee on the committee, is chairman of the Propaganda Committee of the Chicago Society for Physical Culture and Correct Dress.

There is a desire expressed in numerous letters from local organizations for mutual help, and in aid of this it has seemed to me that the committee should be enlarged by the appointment of a few good workers in each State, if possible. Mrs. Sloane says the question is asked her in California, "Are they doing this in the other States?" These members can aid each other by consulting and working together in answer to calls in their vicinity. I hope those who know of suitable persons will mention them for appointment.

With this report I offer, as I have been advised, the names of such women in different States as have been recommended to me as suitable for work on our committee. I have called for those who are especially interested in the work and are good practical representatives, not expecting them to dress

with uncomfortable oddity or to advocate any one particular costume. They should be pleasing in appearance, well educated, and able to talk or read papers before groups of women who call for light. If they can show specimens of improved garments, so much the better. There is great need of experimenting and comparison and criticism of experiments in dress by groups of interested women. I have seen nothing yet which seems to me entirely satisfactory to recommend for general adoption. We must work toward it. We must be bold, but "not too bold." It seems absolutely necessary to destroy the fashionable ideal as fast as possible, and I think the hideous newspaper illustrations of "latest novelties" are helping us wonderfully. No lover of real beauty, with a grain of good sense, can defend such outlines. The Press has treated this movement well. I should like to mention some of the daily papers with especial thanks, but fear I might omit others equally deserving of gratitude. It is proper, however, to mention the continued interest and assistance of the *Arena*, as especially devoted to our cause.

We really need a small, cheap monthly paper especially to represent this cause at this stage of our progress. Perhaps it may soon become a necessity that cannot be postponed, in which case it may become a reality. Perhaps the Executive Committee will take some action concerning this, as well as concerning the kind of organization best for carrying on this work. It would help much, I believe, towards emancipating women from irrational dress, if the Executive Committee of the Council would offer a prize for a design for a student's dress, one suitable and easily adjustable for all their college work and exercise. I believe that a dress answering this need would meet all business requirements; and no class can do more to make non-Parisian styles popular than college girls and those going up through high schools and out from college into the professions and business life and homes as educated women.

The requirements for a prize dress should, in my opinion, be something like this:

No interference with the free and natural action of the organs and limbs of the body.

No contradiction of the natural womanly outlines.

Simplicity of construction and ease of adjustment to the wearer.

Adaptation to a variety of materials and to changes of temperature.

Possibly, the Executive Committee may think of some better way of calling the best talent of the country to aid in this work.

In making your programme for the next Triennial, please leave room and time for a proper presentation of this important subject. The enlarged committee (if you do enlarge it) will contain more than one member able to make a good showing.

Thanking you for your patience and kindness, I remain,

Yours sincerely,

FRANCES E. RUSSELL. *Chairman.*
ANNIE JENNESS MILLER.
FRANK STUART PARKER.
OCTAVIA W. BATES.
LAURA LEE.
BERTHA MORRIS SMITH.
ANNIE L. SLOANE.
ANNIE WHITE JOHNSON.

It was moved by Mrs. Van Norman, and seconded by Mrs. Dietrick, that the report be adopted.

Mrs. Avery moved as an amendment that a committee of five be appointed to formulate the points made in the report in such shape that they may be readily acted upon separately by the Executive Committee.

The original question was withdrawn in favor of the amendment, and the amendment made as a motion was adopted.

On motion of Mrs. Sherwood the President appointed the committee and named the following members: Mrs. Kate Brownlee Sherwood, Delegate of the Woman's Relief Corps, Auxiliary to the Grand Army of the Republic; Mrs. Ellen Battelle Dietrick, Proxy of the President of the National American Woman Suffrage Association; Mrs. Elizabeth B. Grannis, President of the National Christian League for the Promotion of Social Purity; Mrs. Louise Downs Quigley, Patron of the National Council of Women, and Mrs. Ellen W. Longstreth, Delegate of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Union of Friends.

The committee was instructed, by consent, to report at the morning meeting of May 8.

The meeting adjourned to 2 P.M.

AFTERNOON SESSION, MAY 7.

The meeting was called to order by the President at 2.15.

The first order of the business was the report of the Committee on Divorce Reform, which was read by the chairman, Mrs. Ellen Battelle Dietrick.

Mrs. Stevens moved and Miss Anthony seconded that the report be adopted.

After discussion and the free expression of opinion among the members, the chairman of the committee asked that she be allowed to revise the report and present it the next day.

Mrs. Stevens agreed and the report was referred back to the committee to be presented at the morning session of May 8.

The report of the Committee on Equal Pay for Equal Work was then called for.

Mrs. Avery reported that Mrs. Upton, the chairman, had resigned and the committee had no chairman and no report; that it had suc-

ceeded in introducing a bill into Congress that went to the third reading in the House and was presented in the Senate.

The next order of business was the reports of the various local Councils throughout the country.

Mrs. Avery read from the "Transactions of the National Council of Women of 1891," Miss Willard's outline of a possible method of co-operation between Local Councils and the National. At the request of the Treasurer, the President explained the proposed relation to exist between Local Councils and the National. Reports were then read from the various Local Councils now in existence, all of which are in good working order. The following expressed a desire to affiliate with the National :

Indianapolis, Ind.	. . . . .	52 Associations.
Minneapolis, Minn.	. . . . .	60 Associations.
Maryville, Tenn.	. . . . .	13 Associations.
Portland, Me.	. . . . .	7 Associations.
Providence, R.I.	. . . . .	30 Associations.
Quincy, Ill.	. . . . .	13 Associations.

The following Local Councils have not yet considered the question of affiliation : —

Akron, Ohio	. . . . .	26 Associations.
Cleveland, Ohio	. . . . .
Memphis, Tenn.	. . . . .	38 Associations.

Steps toward the formation of Local Councils have been taken in Boston, Mass., Detroit, Mich., San Francisco, Cal., and Kansas City, Mo.

A desire was expressed that Mrs. Chislett, formerly President of the Indianapolis Council of Women, give a sketch of the work done by that Local Council. Mrs. Chislett said that they had held annual meetings for two years; that fifty-two societies, from the Women's Clubs to the Laundry Girls' Union, were represented in it; that they have succeeded in getting police matrons, and are now trying to get women on the school boards and to suppress wine rooms.

The President stated that she had received no fewer than three hundred and eighty invitations since Sept. 20, 1893, to organize Local Councils, and then said: "The reports brought before you indicate that there is a great and growing interest in our Council Idea, and it

only remains for us to formulate some plan by which this interest can be concentrated."

Mrs. Stevens moved and Mrs. Mink seconded that the Local Council work be the first order of business for the afternoon meeting of the 8th. [Carried.]

The President's report having been by consent carried over from its regular place in the order of business, was now read by the Corresponding Secretary :

REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT.

To the Members of the Executive Committee: "From the time that the National Council of Women of the United States was established in the Organization Room of the Woman's Building at the Columbian Exposition with a curator in charge, that is from June 12, over seven thousand visitors registered their names and addresses in our books. The curator estimates that only from one-fourth to one-half of the number of people who have visited the room have registered. Thus we can infer that from twenty thousand to thirty thousand, in round numbers, have inspected our banners and have given a more or less cursory examination of the objects and methods of our work, as set forth in our exhibit. Of our registered visitors only two hundred bear foreign names and foreign addresses. The greater portion of these came to our headquarters during the hours from two to four daily that I spent in the Council space from July 1 to September 20. A large majority of my Council visitors came to talk over the Council Idea, and to discuss the best means for organizing the work of women in their respective countries or of bringing the organizations already effected into relations with the International Council, the work of which, as well as that of the National Council, I have tried to set forth.

"I have received many scores of visits, yes, many hundreds of visits, during my hours at the National Council headquarters, from women in all parts of our own country who desire to localize the Council Idea in their respective communities, and to bring together into Local Councils, under the light bond of mutual sympathy and helpfulness, all existing local organizations of women.

"Besides the National Council and International Council of Women, ten of the nineteen organizations of women now belonging to the National Council made some special representation of their work under Council auspices.

" I feel confident that the Council Idea in its local, its National and International application has been greatly strengthened and promoted through the exhibit made in the Organization Room, and I feel equally confident that the idea of organization has been promoted equally by the Council's work. I could illustrate almost endlessly my belief by the citation of interviews, and by correspondence that has arisen from interviews held in our Council headquarters; but as I said in the beginning, I must say in conclusion, that I expect to see the fruit of this work ripening from year to year in the near future.

" I am not able to give you the exact number of documents issued by the Council that were distributed gratuitously to our visitors. I can only say that they are to be numbered by the thousands."

The President then stated that "since the World's Congress of Representative Women two National Councils had been formed, one in Canada and one in Germany. The National Council of Women in Canada is composed of three national organizations and eight Local Councils, having for its President the Countess of Aberdeen, who is also President of the International Council of Women. Lady Aberdeen has given her influence to the Council work by agreeing to speak at meetings called for the purpose of forming Local Councils in various cities, while declining to speak for any one organization representing a single line of work. Thirty-five organizations united to form the National Council of Women of Germany with the following leading women at its head: Fraulein Augusta Schmidt, Fran Schepler-Lette, Helena Lange, Fraulein Augusta Foerster, Frau Hanna Bieber-Boehm. In Italy a committee has been formed by Signora Fanny Zampini Salazar, with the approval of Queen Margherita, to take steps toward the formation of a National Council of Italian Women. Through the Royal Commissioner to the Columbian Exposition, the King of Siam has expressed his wish that a National Council of Women be formed in his country."

The President concluded her report by presenting the prospectus of a book of one thousand pages giving the history of the World's Congress of Representative Women at Chicago in May, 1895.

The President gave notice that she would bring before the next business meeting an amendment to the Constitution providing that no general officer shall serve two consecutive terms in the same office.

Mrs. Mink moved, seconded by Mrs. Davis, that the President's report be adopted and that the Committee of Arrangements extend to her a rising vote of thanks [Carried.]

Mrs. Avery moved and Mrs. Dietrick seconded, that the officers of the International Council of Women be invited to attend the Triennial of the National Council to be held in Washington, D.C., in February, 1895. [Carried.]

It was moved that the National Council of Women extend to all already existing National Councils of Women, and to all which shall be formed in the interim, a cordial invitation to send fraternal delegates to its approaching Triennial to be held in Washington, D.C. [Carried.]

Mrs. Avery moved and Miss Stewart seconded, that the representatives of the press be admitted to the evening session. [Carried.]

The meeting adjourned to meet at 8 p.m.

EVENING SESSION, MAY 7.

The meeting was called to order by the President at 8.15.

Mrs. Fannie I. Helmuth, President of Sorosis, and Mrs. Mary C. Van Benschoten, Proxy of the President of the Illinois Industrial School for Girls, were introduced at this session.

The first order of business was to receive reports from the organizations in the National Council.

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

Mrs. Ellen Battelle Dietrick, Proxy of the President.

Miss Lucy E. Anthony, Delegate.

While the National American Woman Suffrage Association stands for the broad principle of self-direction, which underlies all possibility of human virtue (for virtue is free choice of right), its special work is the endeavor to bring the great American principle of self-government into universal practice. During the forty years of educational effort the suffrage leaders have had the satisfaction of seeing full equality of rights, duties and privileges established in two States, Wyoming and Colorado, with partial recognition of its justice conceded in Kansas, and a fragmentary concession to this great principle acknowledged in twenty other States.

The chief effort of the present year is to procure amendments to the Constitutions of two States, New York and Kansas, by which the

female people of these States will be permitted to exercise the same rights of citizenship, now accorded the male people. These two campaigns may be said to have ushered in a new era of education in the United States, as no movement has ever so thoroughly stirred society from the highest to the lowest grade. They have caused a research into the fundamental principle of religion and political government, an overhauling of the facts of sociology, a sharpening of wits in debate, which cannot fail to prove of great mental benefit to the country whatever the final outcome may be. The New York campaign has notably demonstrated remarkable ability in economical management of political work, sixty county conventions having been carried to successful completion in New York at a total cost of about \$6,000 for three months' campaign. An enormous petition has been collected representing hundreds of thousands of signatures, among which are found some of the most brilliant names in the United States. The national forces are now directed toward Kansas, where a similar course of convention work and petition gathering is in progress.

WOMAN'S CENTENARY ASSOCIATION OF THE UNIVERSALIST CHURCH.

Mrs. M. Louise Thomas, Proxy of President.

Mrs. E. A. Townsend, Delegate.

The representatives of this organization being absent from this session, the Corresponding Secretary made the following statement:

The Woman's Centenary Association of the Universalist Church is the National Missionary Society of the Universalist Church and was organized in 1869. Its work has been assisting weak parishes and Sunday schools, helping to educate worthy women students for the ministry, distributing denominational literature, relieving the wants of sick and disabled ministers, fostering the cause of Universalism in our own country and establishing foreign missions. Through the department called specified gifts, it has given thousands of dollars towards the endowment of women professorships in our schools and colleges.

NATIONAL WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION.

Mrs. Cornelia E. Moorhead, Proxy of the President.

The National Woman's Christian Temperance Union has an active membership of over 250,000 besides many thousands of children, and a large honorary constituency. It is organized in forty-eight countries.

Miss Frances E. Willard, who was the first President of this Council, is its National President. Mrs. Mary H. Hunt, Superintendent of Scientific Temperance Instruction, has secured legislation in every Territory and in all but five States in the Union; 13,000,000 children are taught the evils of alcohol and tobacco in the public schools.

NATIONAL FREE BAPTIST WOMAN'S MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

No representatives of this organization being present, the Corresponding Secretary gave the following outline of the Society's work:

The Free Baptist Woman's Missionary Society is the child of the oldest National Woman's Missionary Society in the United States — "The Female Freewill Baptist Missionary Society," organized in 1843.

The Freewill Baptists, this old anti-slavery people, are still a liberty-loving people, and today Free Baptist women are pastors, religious teachers and executive workers. Naturally such freedom has developed in the women themselves a large and broad-minded thought of woman's work, and so made them sympathetic with every movement favoring the development of the best in woman.

ILLINOIS INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL FOR GIRLS.
(National Charter.)

Mrs. Mary C. Van Benschoten, Proxy of the President.

Mrs. Van Benschoten outlined the work of the Illinois Industrial School for Girls, which, under its National Charter, receives girls from every State and finds suitable homes for them. It is the hope of the Illinois School to unite all Industrial Schools into a national organization.

NATIONAL WOMAN'S RELIEF SOCIETY.

No delegates from this society being present, the President stated that it has 75,000 members in seventeen Western States. It aims to give temporal and spiritual relief.

WIMODAUGHSIS.

Miss Emma M. Gillett, President.

Mrs. Jennette M. Bradley, Delegate.

Wimodaughsis has its headquarters at Washington, D.C. It is represented at this meeting by Miss Emma M. Gillett, President, and Mrs. Jennette M. Bradley, Delegate. Rev. Anna H. Shaw was its

first President. It has a membership of about 1,100 active and contributing. Its work is partly along lines of doing for young women in an intellectual way what the Y.M.C.A. is doing for young men. About 400 have taken advantage of its classes through the winter. Study sections have been organized to take up the current questions of the day under the heads of Experimental Psychology (a review of Pryer's books on the development of the mind of the child), Ethics in Literature, Magazine Literature and reform movements. The parlors and library are open day and evening, and it serves as a bureau of information on a multitude of subjects both to residents of Washington and visitors to the National Capital from all parts of our country and from Europe.

YOUNG LADIES' NATIONAL MUTUAL IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION.

No delegate being present, the Corresponding Secretary made the following brief report:

The Young Ladies' National Mutual Improvement Association has a membership of 20,000 and works in 22 States in the northwest. It aims to teach young ladies to seek for true knowledge, to cultivate self-reliance, to be energetic and virtuous and to demand of their associates of the opposite sex the same uprightness of character and purity of life that man requires of woman.

NATIONAL CHRISTIAN LEAGUE FOR THE PROMOTION OF SOCIAL PURITY.

Mrs. Elizabeth B. Grannis, President.

Madame Clara Van Norman, Delegate.

The National Christian League for the Promotion of Social Purity was organized in 1887; obtained charter in 1889. Its headquarters are at 33 East Twenty-second street, New York City; it has members in nearly every State and Territory in the United States, some in Canada, England, India and China. The League attempts to work in every line of social purity; holds public meetings; does a great amount of work through its committees; has had several bills before the Legislature of the State of New York, viz.: The Tobacco Bill, prohibiting the sale or gift of tobacco to minors by jail or prison authorities; this bill passed the Senate by a large majority two weeks ago. A bill to make the Seventh Commandment binding in the State of New York, and recommending the same for the District of Columbia, Delaware and Louisiana, which are the only States with no sem-

blance of law against the breaking of the Seventh Commandment. Measures have been taken to prevent lowering the age of consent in New York State. The organization has worked faithfully to secure police matrons and after their appointment has helped them render the best service. The organization is in no sense devoted to rescue work among the fallen, but labors specially for prevention.

UNIVERSAL PEACE UNION.

Dr. Sarah T. Rogers-Eavenson, Proxy of Representative.

Mrs. Sarah A. Russell, Delegate.

The Universal Peace Union respectfully reports to the National Council of Women that its platform is :

To remove causes and abolish customs of war.

To live under the conditions and to declare the principles of peace.

That for twenty-eight years it has existed and has organized over thirty Peace Societies in America and many more in Europe, and during that time it has on all suitable occasions appealed for and demanded equal rights of woman, regarding the peace question as eminently a woman's question, and believing that, with the recognition of the rights of woman, and the influence of woman, the peace cause would be practically advanced.

Our officers are composed of men and women and we recommend arbitration in place of the military system. We especially have noted the mothers' day meetings to interest women in the peace work. We feel that greater efforts should be made by women to prevent the organization of "Boys' Brigade" and to secure the abolition of the military system. As the girls are not trained to be soldiers, why should the boys be so trained? As women do not become soldiers or go to war to maim, destroy, wound and kill their fellows, why should they stand idly by and see men do it? As mothers of the race, they should protest against their children, if boys, being food for powder.

INTERNATIONAL KINDERGARTEN UNION.

Miss Sarah A. Stewart, Proxy of President.

1. Organized two years ago at Saratoga as a branch of the National Teachers' Association.

2. Aims and purposes :

To gather and disseminate knowledge of the kindergarten movement throughout the world; to bring into active co-operation all

kindergarten interests ; to promote the establishment of kindergartens ; to elevate the standard of professional training of the kindergartner.

The International Kindergarten Union seeks to unite in one stream the various kindergarten activities already existing. Its function is to supplement, not to compete with ; to co-ordinate, not to supplant, the agencies already at work. It combines the advantages of central council and suggestion with local independence and control. Its mission is to collect, collate and disseminate the valuable knowledge already attained and to inspire to greater and more intelligent efforts in the future. It invites co-operation from public and private schools, churches and benevolent societies of every kind and grade, which have for their objects the educational interests of little children.

3. Plan of organization.

4. Recognizes only city members now, but is looking towards State organizations.

5. Members : New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, St. Louis, San Francisco, Buffalo, Albany, Indianapolis, Toledo, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Providence, Des Moines, Wilmington, Washington, Smyrna, Turkey ; seventeen in all.

6. Work done in Chicago last year in connection with World's Congress of Representative Women and National Educational Association.

7. Work done this year in different branches, Philadelphia Branch a type ; lectures by specialists, discussions of educational questions, meetings once in two months.

8. Printed reports in preparation.

Extracts from each (names of officers, numbers in branch, programmes of work) for general distribution.

9. Questions : Uses of wide organization. How to hold interest and collect dues.

"The past year has brought to me over eleven thousand letters, many of them letters of inquiry, requiring much careful information. From every State and Territory in the Union and from many foreign countries and from islands of the sea have these requests poured in. More and more is the conviction gaining ground that the kindergarten system is the grandest system of education ever devised by man. I have been called upon to speak on this subject over fifty times during the past nine months. The world is awake to our great work."—
(Extract from a letter from Mrs. Sarah B. Cooper, President of the International Kindergarten Union.)

WOMAN'S REPUBLICAN ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES.

No representatives present.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF LOYAL WOMEN OF AMERICAN LIBERTY.

Mrs. I. C. Manchester, President.

Mrs. Abbie A. C. Peaslee, Delegate.

One of the principles of the National Association of Loyal Women of American Liberty is the absolute separation of church and state in all matters pertaining to taxation and education. As we realize that the untaxed church property of the United States amounts already to three thousand millions, and that in 1900 the prophecy of General Grant that this property, if not checked, will amount to a sum exceeding three billions of dollars, there is need of education on the part of the American citizen to the danger involved in this condition now existing through this present method of exemption of taxes upon church property.

This fundamental principle that "No appropriation of money from National, State, county, town, or municipal treasuries, for sectarian or denominational uses," should be embodied in our National Constitution; and to this end the National Association of Loyal Women of American Liberty endorses the action of the National League for the Protection of American Institutions in their proposed sixteenth amendment to the State and National Constitutions; and, through the Loyal Women, this organization received at the time of the Columbian Exposition autograph signatures to their principles and appeals to Congress for the passage of the sixteenth amendment, and the work has brought returns to them from every State and Territory.

We would be pleased to speak of our department of the "Cup of Loving Service," and the evangelistic work of the organization, but time forbids.

WOMAN'S FOREIGN MISSIONARY UNION OF FRIENDS.

Mrs. Rebecca W. Cadbury, Proxy of President.

Mrs. Ellen W. Longstreth, Delegate.

The Woman's Foreign Missionary Union of Friends was organized in 1887, with a membership of 3,300; this has almost doubled in the seven years. There are eleven local boards: New England, New York, Philadelphia, Ohio, Canada, North Carolina, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas.

The associations have found a ready ear for their workers amongst the people of Japan, China, India, Syria, Jamaica, Mexico and Alaska; also amongst the Indians in the West. The Union meets triennially in sessions of about three days' duration. Some interesting work has been done in translating religious works: Charles Foster's "Story of the Gospel" into both Arabic and Japanese, as well as the translation into both of these languages of the history of the lives of some eminent Friends. The work is increasing and prospering. The receipts of the various associations belonging to the Union amounted during the past year to more than \$22,000.00.

WOMAN'S RELIEF CORPS, AUXILIARY TO THE GRAND ARMY OF THE
REPUBLIC.

Mrs. Sarah C. Mink, President.

Mrs. Kate Brownlee Sherwood, Delegate.

The Woman's Relief Corps was organized in Denver in 1883 with a charter membership of forty-five women, who had been requested by the Grand Army of the Republic to meet there from the different States and consider the request to become auxiliary to their organization. We have grown in numbers and influence steadily up to the present date. We now number 140,000 members and have expended in eleven years over \$900,000.00 in charity. Our objects are:

"To specially aid and assist the Grand Army of the Republic, and to perpetuate the memory of their heroic dead.

"To assist such Union veterans as need our help and protection and to extend needful aid to their widows and orphans. To find them homes and employment and assure them of sympathy and friends. To cherish and emulate the deeds of our army nurses, and of all loyal women who rendered loving service to our country in her hour of peril.

"To maintain true allegiance to the United States of America; to inculcate lessons of patriotism and love of country among our children and in the communities in which we live; and encourage the spread of universal liberty and equal rights to all."

The Woman's Relief Corps is represented in all of the States and Territories except Alabama, and we have our Corps in Canada. Homes for aged veterans and their wives are springing up, mainly through the influence of women. The Army Nurse Bill became a law through the persistent efforts of our organization. We maintain a

National Woman's Relief Corps Home in Madison, O., where veterans and their wives, veterans' widows, mothers, and army nurses are supported at the expense of the National organization and are tenderly laid to rest in our own burial ground.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF WOMEN STENOGRAPHERS.

No delegate was present from this association, but the following report was sent in by the President, Miss Netta G. McLaughlin :

The association was born especially for the World's Fair, through a desire to have our work represented in the Woman's Building. We secured a booth with the concession of the building for stenographic work. This we controlled, excepting, of course, that done by stenographers of committees regularly employed. We were favored with about six hundred registered callers and were well pleased with our success, making both money and acquaintances. Since the World's Fair we have lived simply because we dislike to die. Now we are considering the advisability of incorporating a benefit feature, which seems to meet with hearty approval. This feature we hope will be the means whereby we can reach those less fortunate than ourselves and be of assistance to them. We are happy that we have been able, by individually interesting ourselves, to render many a stenographic path less full of painful little trials from sharp points in the course which were not taught in the system.

The meeting then adjourned to meet at 10.30, May 8.

MORNING SESSION, MAY 8.

The President called the meeting to order at 10.40 A.M.

Mrs. Jennie C. Croly, delegate from Sorosis, and Mrs. Addie M. H. Ellis, Patron of the Council, were introduced at this session.

Mrs. Bates of Wilmington, Del., and Mrs. Patterson of North Carolina, were extended the courtesy of the meeting and invited to remain as guests.

The following report was presented :

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON DRESS.

To the Executive Committee of the National Council of Women of the U.S. :

1. Your committee wish to express deep appreciation of the valuable work so successfully performed by the standing Committee on Dress, but, in view of the necessity of continuing this work along lines best calculated to rouse public opinion, your committee suggest that the standing committee should strive to use the medium already provided in great city dailies and popular magazines rather than attempt to found a special publication which would practically confine their efforts to a limited circle of persons already interested.

2. Your committee view with favor the proposition to offer a prize for the best design of a student's dress adapted to the needs of business women, and recommend that this be a sum large enough to enlist the service of the finest artistic talent.

3. We therefore suggest that the general officers, acting with the Committee on Dress, arrange the awards and appoint the jurors, and promulgate the plan as they see fit.

KATE BROWNLEE SHERWOOD, *Chairman.*
ELLEN B. DIETRICK, *Secretary.*
ELIZABETH B. GRANNIS.
ELLEN W. LONGSTRETH.
LOUISE DOWNS QUIGLEY.

It was moved and seconded that the report of the Special Committee be considered and acted upon item by item. [Carried.]

On motion the first recommendation was adopted.

On motion of Mrs. Sherwood, seconded by Madame Van Norman, the second recommendation was adopted.

On motion of Mrs. Mink, seconded by Mrs. Russell, the report of the Committee on Dress was adopted as modified by the special committee to whom it was referred.

The following resolution, offered by Mrs. Avery and seconded by Mrs. Davis, was adopted :

Resolved, That Mrs. Russell, chairman of the Committee on Dress, be instructed to pursue the work through Local Councils wherever such exist and are willing to take up the work.

In accordance with the special order of business, as ordered by the Council in the morning session on the 7th, the Auditing Committee presented the following report :

“ We do hereby certify that we have examined the accounts and vouchers of the Treasurer and find them correct, and that the balance in her hands is ninety-eight cents (\$0.98).

SARAH A. RUSSELL,
SARAH A. STEWART,
Auditing Committee.”

On motion of Mrs. Manchester, seconded by Mrs. Dietrick, the report of the Treasurer was adopted.

A spirited discussion ensued in regard to the best method of raising the money necessary to meet the deficit in the treasury and to put the Council on a firm financial basis. Without formal action, it was the general feeling that it would be wise to press the attempt to secure Patrons and to use personal influence to induce national organizations now outside the Council to enter the National Council.

Mrs. Sherwood introduced the following resolution, which was moved by Mrs. Stevens, seconded by Mrs. Manchester and adopted :

WHEREAS, There is a manifest need for primary instruction in constitutional government in our public schools, and of a more direct method of cultivating a broader spirit of nationality among the children of the country based upon the great Declaration of Independence and the principles of universal liberty and equal rights inculcated therein;

Resolved, That the National Council of Women approve of the great movement to teach patriotism in the schools of the United States and of placing the flag over every schoolhouse and in every schoolroom in the land, and that a Committee on Patriotic Teaching in all the schools of the United States be added to the list of standing committees of the National Council. [Carried.]

Adjourned to 2.30 p.m.

AFTERNOON SESSION, MAY 8.

The meeting was called to order by the President at 2.45.

Mrs. Avery explained that the Recording Secretary could not be ready with the minutes.

On motion of Mrs. Mink, seconded by Mrs. Avery, the reading of the minutes was postponed until evening.

Mrs. Avery moved that all women's organizations in the United States of national importance be invited to send fraternal delegates to the National Council of Women at its triennial meeting in 1895, with the understanding that opportunity will be given for greeting, but not for reports of their organizations or for numbers on the programme. [Carried.]

Miss Gillett asked if fraternal delegates would be invited from associations composed of both men and women, as well as from associations composed of women alone.

The President replied that all national organizations including women in their membership would be invited to appoint women as fraternal delegates to the Triennial.

The proposed relation between Local Councils and the National Council of Women being the next in order, the following resolutions were adopted :

Resolved, That, at the coming public session of the National Council of Women, delegates be received from all Local Councils of Women which shall ask for this privilege.

Resolved, That the consideration of the details of the representation of Local Councils in the public meetings of the National Council of Women be referred to a committee of the General Officers of the Council; that, when they have formulated their plan covering the question of number of delegates, their privileges, etc., this plan shall be sent by the Corresponding Secretary to the President of each organization in the Council for her consideration and vote.

Mrs. Ellen Battelle Dietrick, Chairman of the Committee on Divorce Reform, presented the following :

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON DIVORCE REFORM.

To the Members of the Executive Committee : The chairman of your Committee on Divorce Reform, by agreement with the general officers of the National Council, joined the National Divorce Reform League,

in order that this body of women might come into acquaintance with that body officered and managed wholly by men, whose object is to "promote an improvement in public sentiment and legislation in the institutions of the family, especially as affected by existing evils relating to marriage and divorce."

While the National Divorce Reform League, founded by men alone, does announce that it is "equally open to all persons of either sex who desire an improvement in our home life, and who are willing to share in its work," yet, in announcing that after ten years of masculine effort, it had extended its membership to women, the Secretary commented that, "Nearly all our most intelligent contributors among them (women) have preferred to leave both the membership and the work in the hands of men." Whether this could be considered a mark of most intelligence is, at least, open to doubt.

In order to know what to do and what to leave undone, the principal work of your committee, indeed, I should say, all the work, has been to study the steps already taken by men in the direction of divorce reform. The National League has, in our opinion, acted wisely in not working for a constitutional amendment to enforce one uniform rule of divorce for the whole United States, and also most wisely in securing from Congress provision for the exhaustive report on "Marriage and Divorce," published by Hon. Carroll D. Wright, in 1889, a work of 1074 pages, which should be studied by every household, as it concerns every household directly or indirectly.

But the National Divorce Reform League has acted unwisely in procuring commissions on uniform law in eight States which cover more than one-fourth the population of this country, while not a member of those commissions is a woman. Delaware, Georgia, Massachusetts, Michigan, Mississippi, New Jersey, New York and Pennsylvania have now committees of men whose task is to secure uniform legislation regulating divorce, and the governors of four other States have been induced to officially commend the creating of similar commissions.

It is significant of the attitude which these commissions will take, that the National League reports that it is studying "the problems of marriage, polygamy, divorce, chastity, children and women," that these are regarded "as closely related parts of one inclusive problem of the family, and its place and relation to the social order." But the National League has not yet set itself to study the problem of children and men. It has forgotten that the beginning of wisdom is to "know

thymself." It still, apparently, hopes that men alone can settle all social questions, in spite of thousands of years of proof to the contrary.

Your committee report that it strongly deprecates any legislation whatever further restricting divorce, until the women of the United States shall have had ample time, after special notice, to form and express an opinion concerning every proposed restriction. And it earnestly protests against any legislation whatever having in view the changing the present laws either of divorce or marriage until half the people vitally interested in such legislation shall have a voice in its shaping. It especially deprecates a further movement of men toward legislating for the interests of the home, from the fact that in none of the reports of the National League is any evidence shown that the real source of social evils is perceived, namely, the subjection and consequent helplessness of woman; but that on the contrary, a decrease of divorce by the method of teaching girls cooking and sewing is suggested, with not a syllable as to the methods by which boys can be especially prepared to become good husbands and fathers. In view of the fact that over 65 per cent of the divorces in the United States during twenty years were granted to wives on their petitions of divorce from their husbands, and that the great majority of these were for desertion or cruel treatment, your committee submits that something more is needed to teach girls than how to sew and cook, valuable as we believe such instruction to be. The causes in which wives are the petitioners, more largely than husbands, are cruelty, in which the proportion is 7.4 to 1; desertion, in which it is nearly $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, and drunkenness, in which it is as 8.6 to 1, though, as Mr. Wright says, "it is apparent that the divorces granted for drunkenness cannot, in any sense of the word, represent the entire number in which drunkenness or intemperance is a serious factor." It is true, that, as Mr. Wright also justly says, "cruelty, or extreme cruelty and inhuman treatment, when alleged, afford a wide field for the exercise of judicial discretion." But any one who will read pages 172 to 179 of Mr. Wright's report, will readily see the danger of making it more difficult to leave a state in which one human being is so wholly in the power of a stronger; and this applies as equally to a weak man in the power of a strong woman, as *vice versa*, though such cases, owing to both natural and artificial conditions, are the rarer. For the reasons herein set forth, your committee beg to report the following resolutions:

Resolved, By the Executive Committee of the National Council of Women of the United States, that, as divorce is a measure equally concerning both

sexes, we hold it just that all commissions created to deal with divorce should be represented by both. To this end, we, an organization of national organizations comprising about 700,000 representative women, request of the appointing power in each State, whether gubernatorial or legislative, that all such commissions hereafter to be appointed shall be composed of both men and women in equal numbers;

That we ask the National Divorce Reform League to take no steps toward altering existing laws without conferring with the National Council of Women of the United States through its standing Committee on Divorce Reform;

That we instruct our Committee on Divorce Reform to ask for a hearing before the National Divorce Reform League at its next regular meeting in order to provide for co-operation between men and women in regard to this measure, which equally affects both;

That the first step toward the elevation of the home is to put men and women, as home-makers, in a position of legal equality.

Respectfully submitted,

ELLEN BATTELLE DIETRICK, *Chairman.*
MARY A. LIVERMORE.
FANNY B. AMES.

On motion of Mrs. Sherwood, seconded by Mrs. Moorehead, the Report of the Committee on Divorce Reform was adopted.

Miss Gillett moved, and Miss Anthony seconded, a reconsideration of the vote adopting this report. [Carried.]

On motion of Mrs. Stevens, seconded by Mrs. Mink, the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That a letter be sent to the Governor of each State and Territory asking him to call the attention of the Legislature to the situation concerning divorce laws, requesting the appointment of a committee to consider the matter, said committee to consist equally of men and women.

On motion of Mrs. Sherwood, seconded by Mrs. Stevens, the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That the National Council of Women of the United States, representing seventeen National Associations of Women, with a membership of 700,000, thank Judge Jere Wilson of Washington, D.C., for his just advocacy of the rights of women under the law and in the professions, in his recent public plea before the courts of the National Capital.

On motion of Mrs. Davis, seconded by Mrs. Russell, the report of the Committee on Divorce Reform was adopted.

Mrs. Grannis offered a resolution on Social Purity.

Mrs. Avery offered the following substitute, which Mrs. Grannis accepted, and which was unanimously adopted :

Resolved, That it is the feeling of the National Council of Women of the United States that there should be the same standard of moral purity for men and women, and that, for any lapse from this standard, the same condemnation should be visited upon both sexes.

It was moved that the meeting adjourn to 8 P.M., and that the order of business be the consideration of the programme for the Triennial of February 17-March 2, 1895, and of the best method of obtaining money for the Council's work. [Carried.]

Adjourned.

EVENING SESSION, MAY 8.

The meeting was called to order by the President at 8.30.

An outline of the minutes of the preceding sessions was read by the Recording Secretary.

At the Secretary's request, it was moved by Mrs. Stevens, and seconded by Mrs. Dietrick, that the Recording Secretary be instructed to send copies of the minutes for suggested revision to each of the general officers, and to each President and delegate of the organizations in the Council; and thereafter to rewrite the full report for presentation at the next Executive Committee meeting. [Carried.]

Mrs. Sarah C. Mink offered the following resolutions :

Resolved, That the thanks of the Executive Committee be extended the officers for their able discharge of all duties devolving upon them in Executive Session; and particularly in devising and carrying to magnificent success the great Congress of Representative Women, and in enlarging and unifying the National Council. Especially would we thank Mrs. May Wright Sewall and Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, for the distinguished honor they have brought to the National Council, and reflected upon the women of America in their World's Fair work.

Resolved, That it is the sense of this committee that Mrs. Sewall reconsider her determination, as expressed today, of recommending one term for the President of the National Council, and consent to serve the Council as presiding officer until its organization is more fully completed, if called upon to do so.

On motion of Miss Gillett the first resolution was adopted.

At the President's request, Miss Gillett moved that the consideration of the second resolution be postponed until after the disposal of the regular order of business. [Carried.]

The consideration of the programme of the second triennial meeting of the National Council being the next order of business, Mrs. Avery made the following suggestions :

That the meeting extend over a period of between two and three weeks ; that there be morning and evening sessions, leaving the afternoons free for committee meetings ; that the morning sessions be given to the discussion of the work of the standing committees and of subjects of general interest ; and that the evening sessions be devoted to appropriate addresses, each organization in the Council to have either a part or a whole of an evening, the length of time given to each to depend upon the duration of the Triennial and upon the number of organizations in the Council representing one line of work.

Suggestions as to the conduct of the coming Triennial and the subjects to be considered were made by the members of the Committee of Arrangements present, whereupon the meeting adjourned to meet in Washington in 1895 at the time of the Triennial.

CHAPTER XI.

COUNCIL DOCUMENTS.

To disseminate information concerning the National Council, a document entitled "Second Statement of the National Council of Women of the United States," prepared by its President, Mrs. May Wright Sewall, was issued by the officers in August, 1894.

For the same purpose, and at the same time, a document entitled "Council Catechism," prepared by Rachel Foster Avery, Corresponding Secretary, was published and widely distributed.

Both of these documents are reproduced here as necessary to the complete history of the Council work.

In October, 1894, four documents relating to the formation of Local Councils of Women, and their relation to the National Council of Women, etc., were issued and also widely distributed.

All of the above-mentioned documents are reproduced as follows :

SECOND STATEMENT

OF THE

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF THE UNITED STATES.

HISTORY.

In June of 1887 the National Woman Suffrage Association issued a call to the women of the world, stating that on March 25, 1888, an International Council of Women would be convened in Washington, D.C., to celebrate the fortieth anniversary of "the first organized demand for equal educational, industrial, professional and political rights for women, which was made in a convention held at Seneca Falls, New York (U.S.A.), in the year 1848."

The International Council convened in Washington on the appointed day, and continued its sessions through eight days, adjourning April 1, 1888. Fifty-

three national organizations of women from seven different countries were represented in this meeting.

The Council seemed too important to the women participating in its deliberations to permit of its being dissolved without taking measures toward a permanent organization of the national and international movements represented by it. Accordingly on the 31st of March, 1888, the National Council of Women of the United States and the International Council of Women were both formally organized.

The first Triennial Meeting of the National Council took place in 1891 at Washington, D.C. At the time of calling this meeting, seven organizations composed the Council, and, though these alone assumed all the responsibility of the great gathering, they generously invited national associations not in the Council to present, through fraternal delegates, reports of their work. During the week's session, three other organizations entered the Council. Thirty-eight associations reported through fraternal delegates, and the International Council of Women was represented by its American officers.

The National Council, at the business meetings which followed its public session of 1891, passed the following resolutions, which indicate the breadth of view of the women there assembled, and show more plainly than any statement could show that, in the midst of the immense diversity of interests which these meetings represented, there prevailed a unanimity of sentiment upon certain main points of interest to all women :

Resolved, That it is the unanimous voice of this Council that all institutions of learning and of professional instruction, including schools of theology, law and medicine, should, in the interest of humanity, be as freely opened to women as to men; that opportunities for industrial training should be as generally and liberally provided for one as the other, and that the representation of organized womanhood in this Council will steadily demand that, in all avocations in which both men and women engage, equal wages shall be paid for equal work; and, finally, that an enlightened society should demand, as the only adequate expression of the high civilization which it is its office to establish and maintain, an identical standard of personal purity and morality for men and women.

So soon as the United States Government had, through Congress, made provision for celebrating the discovery of America by the World's Columbian Exposition, and had fixed the time and place for such Exposition, the American officers of the International Council at once conceived it to be appropriate, inasmuch as the year fixed for its first meeting coincided with the year for the Exposition, that the International Council should be convened in Chicago during the Exposition season of 1893. Through correspondence concerning this plan, the cordial concurrence of the foreign officers was received.

In May, 1891, the National Council of Women of the United States, through its Executive Committee, passed a resolution pledging itself to entertain, during the International Council, all delegates attending it from foreign countries.

This was announced to organizations of women wherever known, and in many countries, notably in England, France, Canada, Scandinavia and Finland, and more recently in Italy, Switzerland and Germany, the organized activity of women was quickened by it.

The organization of the World's Congress Auxilliary, under the authority and with the support of the World's Columbian Exposition, and with the recog-

dition and approval of the Government of the United States, afforded to the officers of the International Council of Women an unanticipated ally, in securing a meeting of the character they desired, viz.: a World's Congress of Representative Women.

In this congress were convened not only the delegates of organizations of women, but also women not affiliated with others in any organic relation, who have attained distinction in any line of worthy activity.

The World's Congress of Representative Women served as a grand introduction to the series of World's Congresses; it opened May 15, 1893, and lasted seven days; the sessions were held in over twenty halls of the great Art Palace; the programme contained the names of more than three hundred speakers, the majority of whom were women of national reputation in the line of work which they there represented.*

Better than any amount of reiteration that the National Council of Women is *not* committed to the furthering of any one propaganda, and that it is impartial in its treatment of the work of women along any and all lines, stands its record in connection with the World's Congress of Representative Women. This assembly of women could not have been brought together but for the existence of the National and International Councils of Women and the generous work and financial support which the National Council, as the hostess of the foreign delegates, gave to that immense undertaking. Yet, during the congress, the National Council never claimed any special privileges or prominence either for itself as a whole or for the national organizations composing it; and any unprejudiced observer of the congress must have been convinced that an organization capable of such impartiality as was there shown to all lines of women's work, is faithfully living up to both the letter and the spirit of that clause of its constitution which states that "this Council is organized in the interest of no one propaganda, and has no power over the organizations which constitute it beyond that of suggestion and sympathy."

WORK.

Through standing committees the National Council has prosecuted three general lines of work, and, at its last Executive Meeting, a fourth was added.

(a) **EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK.**—Believing that the example of our General Government would exert throughout the land a wide influence for justice, the Council is working (but so far without success) for the enactment of a law providing that no distinction of sex shall be made in the payment of the employees of the Government.

(b) **DIVORCE REFORM.**—At the Executive Committee meeting of May 7 and 8, the report of this committee stated that commissions of men were being created (already appointed in seven States) in the different States to consider the marriage and divorce laws with a view to their betterment and to

* "The Historical Résumé of the World's Congress of Representative Women," just issued by Rand, McNally & Company of Chicago, is edited by Mrs. May Wright Sewall, Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements and President of the National Council of Women. This work will practically belong to the series of the reports of the International Council of Women. It is the most valuable history of woman's organized work along intellectual and spiritual lines yet given to the world.

bringing them into more harmony throughout the country. The following resolutions, passed unanimously, will show the trend of the Council work in this line :

Resolved: By the Executive Board of the National Council of Women of the United States, that, as divorce is a measure equally concerning both sexes, we hold it just that all commissions created to deal with divorce should be representative of both. To this end, we, an organization of national organizations, comprising about 700,000 representative women, request of the appointing power in each State, whether gubernatorial or legislative, that all such commissions hereafter to be appointed shall be comprised of both men and women in equal numbers.

That the first step toward the elevation of the home is to put man and woman, as home-makers, in a position of legal equality.

(c) IMPROVED DRESS.—Papers have been signed by many of the best-known people in the country, pledging the signers, if women, to give their influence toward an improvement in women's dress, which shall be in the line of more freedom for the body and shall possess more artistic beauty than does the present style of dress,—and, if men, to lend their influence and countenance to the effort of women to secure for their sex a healthful and convenient dress for work and exercise.

The Dress Committee has also secured the discussion of the question of women's dress in some of the leading periodicals of the country, and has published an illustrated report giving the committee's idea of a sensible and convenient dress for business hours. The present plan is to offer a prize in money for the best essay, the one selected to become the property of the National Council with a view to its distribution for purposes of propaganda.

(d) PATRIOTIC INSTRUCTION.—This is the new line of general work adopted by the Executive Meeting of May 7 and 8, as shown by the following resolution :

WHEREAS: There is a manifest need for instruction in constitutional government in our public schools and of a more direct method of cultivating a broader spirit of nationality among the children of the country, based upon the Declaration of Independence and the principles of universal liberty and equal rights to all inculcated therein; it is therefore

Resolved: That the National Council of Women approve of the great movement to teach patriotism in the schools of the United States, and of placing a flag on every school-house and in every schoolroom in the land, and that a Committee on Patriotic Teaching be added to the list of standing committees of the Council.

PLAN FOR THE TRIENNIAL OF 1895.

The exact programme for this great meeting cannot at this date be given, but several important points have been decided by the Committee of Arrangements.

1. The meeting will open Feb. 17, 1895, and close March 2, 1895, and be held in Metzert's Music Hall, Washington, D.C.

2. Delegates from Local Councils of Women shall form the Lower Council, while the representatives of national organizations composing the National Council shall form the Upper Council.

3. The day sessions shall be for the discussion of topics of broad general interest and importance to women, and formal action may be taken by vote of

the Representatives forming the Upper and Lower Councils. Members of all organizations belonging to the National Council shall be admitted as witnesses to the business (day) sessions.

4. The evening sessions shall be for the presentation to the general public of the work of the organizations composing the Council, each organization to be free to make its own programme, subject to the approval of the Committee of Arrangements.

5. * Patrons shall be admitted to all sessions, and have the right to participate in discussions and to be appointed upon committees.

6. A special order of business shall be the formal reception of the fraternal delegates bearing greetings from national organizations not in the Council, all of which shall be invited to send greetings but not to present reports..

7. According to the constitution, organizations entering the Council later than three months prior to the opening of the Triennial Meeting of February, 1895, shall not be considered members of the Council until after said meeting.

8. Fraternal delegates will be invited from the National Councils of Women in Canada, France, Germany and Belgium, and from any other National Council which may be formed before February, 1895.†

9. All the officers of the International Council of Women will receive invitations to be present.

AIMS AND SCOPE. -

(a) It has been proven to the satisfaction of the organizations which have banded themselves together to form the National Council that by means of its Triennial Meetings they secure for their special lines of work a larger hearing than they can ever command for their separate meetings. This does not in any way interfere with their pursuance of their various objects, for the Council is in no sense an executive body as related to its members (organizations), but simply a "confederation of workers committed to the overthrow of all forms of ignorance and injustice, and to the application of the Golden Rule to society, custom and law"

(b) Certain general lines of work (see page 142) can be infinitely better furthered by such an aggregation of organizations than by separate associations of women each organized for a special object. It is believed that the existence of a National Council of Women in any country will prevent the multiplication of organizations by its successful prosecution of lines of work which, if not thus taken up, would lead to the formation of new associations.

(c) Certainly the individual woman is broadened and her life enriched by becoming a member of an organization for personal culture or altruistic

* To provide a legitimate bond between individuals and an organization which is, of necessity, precluded from accepting persons into membership, provision was made for "Patrons of the Council." Any person whose name is acceptable to the Executive Committee, can, by the payment of one hundred dollars into the Treasury, become a Patron for life.

† The preliminary steps have been taken in Italy under the patronage of Queen Margherita, and in Siam at the expressed desire of the King.

effort. Who can doubt it? She is none the less a good mother for being a member of a missionary band to send the "good tidings of great joy" to other mothers far away, none the less a good housekeeper for being a member of a club where she learns of other things in life besides domestic duties, and probably hears domestic economy discussed from standpoints differing from her own yet sympathetic with them. It is equally true that the members of each organization in the National Council of Women "find inspiration, breadth and release from limitations" through the respect they learn to feel for the work of women from whose opinions they may differ radically, yet for the nobility of whose efforts for the uplifting of humanity they feel a deep sympathy.

In brief, the Council Idea, which has already taken firm root in the form of National Councils of Women in France, Belgium, Germany, Canada and the United States, and is germinating in Italy, Denmark and Siam, and through the International Council of Women has a foothold in all the other countries where women are associated in organized work, — this Council Idea, both National and International, is the "climax in the organization of the moral forces of society by women," and stands for the broadest mutual respect and sympathy, and for the peace which "makes for righteousness."

MAY WRIGHT SEWALL,
*President of the National Council of Women
of the United States.*

COUNCIL CATECHISM.

1. What is the National Council of Women of the United States?

An organization composed of National Associations.

2. What is its object?

(a) To make better known to the general public the magnitude and variety of woman's work for humanity.

(b) To avoid the multiplication of organizations each with some one special object.

(c) To bring together women of all lines of work.

(d) To give the united influence of all these women to such general lines of work as all can heartily agree upon.

3. Who are eligible to membership?

(a) Organizations of women which are national in either scope or value, and

(b) The women of national organizations composed of both men and women.

4. How many organizations now compose the Council?

Seventeen.

5. What is its constituency?

More than 700,000 women, members of the organizations which form the Council.

6. Can an individual become a member of the National Council?

No. Its members are organizations. Individuals may, however, become Patrons of the Council.

7. Who may become a Patron?

Any one whose name is satisfactory to the Board of General Officers, may, by payment of one hundred dollars (\$100.00), become a Patron.

8. What are the privileges of a Patron?

A Patron may attend all meetings of the Council, public and executive; may propose questions; may join in all discussions; may serve on com-

mittees, and be entitled to receive all printed reports of Proceedings of the Council,—but may not have a vote. The names of the Patrons appear on all printed documents of the Council immediately after those of the officers.

9. What is the membership fee for an organization ?

One hundred dollars (\$100.00), payable every three years, or thirty-three dollars and thirty-three cents (\$33.33) annually.

10. Are any assessments made ?

No; there can be no assessments made for or by the National Council of Women upon the organizations which form it.

11. How can an organization whose funds are contributed for a special purpose, pay its fee ?

By securing a contribution for this purpose from a few of its members who may be interested in thus broadening its relations and influence.

12. When and where was the National Council of Women of the United States organized ?

At Washington, D.C., in 1888, at the Fortieth Anniversary of the first "Woman's Rights" Convention, held in Seneca Falls, N.Y., in 1848.

13. How many lines of work are represented by the seventeen organizations now forming the Council ?

Seven: Religious, Philanthropic, Educational, Professional, Social Reform, Moral Reform and Government Reform.

14. Was it formed to further Temperance or Woman Suffrage ?

No.

15. Can it in any possible way be made to do so ?

No. Each organization in membership has two votes, no matter how large or how small its individual membership. The Council could no more be committed to Temperance or Woman Suffrage than it could be committed to the tenets of the Free Baptist Church or to Kindergartening, because the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Free Baptist Church and the International Kindergarten Union are members of the Council.

16. But does not a large organization have more votes than a small one ?

No. Just as each of the United States, regardless of size or population, has two votes in the Senate of the United States, so each member (organization) of the National Council has two votes in its deliberations.

17. In what way is an organization benefited by entering the Council ?

(a) Chiefly through bringing its work before much larger audiences than it can ever do working alone. The public meetings of each organization

attract the attention of only those interested in its objects, while the Council Triennials bring together audiences composed of energetic women working along all lines.

(b) The newspapers, through the Associated and United Press, give immensely larger reports than they ever do to meetings of single organizations.

18. How often does the Council meet?

Triennially for great public meetings; annually for business.

19. What kind of business does it transact annually?

Its Executive Committee takes action upon the lines of general work, and the year before the Triennial, in connection with the Committee of Arrangements (of which the Executive Committee is a part), arranges for the great public meeting.

20. What are its lines of general work?

(1) Equal Pay for Equal Work; to secure a law requiring our National Government to make no distinction of sex in the payment of its employees.

(2) Divorce Reform; to secure the appointment of women upon all State Commissions (now consisting of men alone) working to change existing Divorce and Marriage Laws.

(3) Dress; to promote the discussion of woman's dress, and arouse public sentiment favoring greater attention being paid to health, freedom and beauty in the dress of women.

(4) Patriotic Teaching; to introduce this into the public schools of the land, and favor the exercises of the day beginning with a salute to the flag.

21. Has the Council ever officially expressed itself upon other subjects?

Yes: in favor of equal educational advantages for men and women, including the admission of women to all already existing institutions of learning; the provision of equal opportunities of industrial training for boys and girls; the admission of women to equality with men in church work of the different denominations, and the demand for an equal standard of personal purity for men and women.

22. Does the National Council interfere with the special lines of work of the organizations which form it?

"The Council . . . has no power over the organizations which constitute it, beyond that of suggestion and sympathy; therefore, no society voting to enter this Council shall thereby render itself liable to be interfered with in respect to its complete organic unity, independence, or method of work." (Article II. of Constitution of National Council of Women.)

23. What are Local Councils of Women?

Organizations of certain cities, which bear the same relation to the city associations of women that the National Council does to National Associations.

24. What relation do Local Councils bear to the National Council?

No official relation at present, but at the Executive Meeting of May 7 and 8, 1894, it was decided that they may send representatives to the next Triennial of the National Council. The official standing of such representatives and the terms of the affiliation between the Local and the National Council are to be determined upon before the coming winter, by correspondence with the members of the Executive Committee of the National Council.

25. When and where is the next Triennial of the Council?

February 17 to March 2, 1895, at Metzert's Music Hall, Washington, D.C.

26. What part do the members of the National (Council the organizations belonging to it) have in the public meetings?

The evening sessions, which are open to the general public, are devoted to the presentation of the work of the members (organizations) of the Council, each to arrange its own programme, subject to the approval of the Committee of Arrangements.

27. To what are the day sessions of the Triennial devoted?

To the discussion of questions of general interest in the lines of work represented by the members (organizations) of the Council.

28. To whom are the day sessions open?

(a) To the President and one Representative from each of the organizations forming the Council.

(b) The General Officers of the Council.

(c) The President and one Representative from each Local Council affiliated with the National Council.

(d) The Patrons and members of Standing Committees of the Council may participate in the discussions, serve on committees, etc., but may not vote.

(e) *As Witnesses* of the Proceedings, the officers of the International Council of Women, of which the National Council is a part; delegates from National Councils of other countries; the fraternal delegates from national organizations not in the Council; the members of all organizations in the National Council.

29. Will organizations not affiliated with the National Council be invited to present reports of work in the next Triennial as they were in 1891?

No. They will be invited to send fraternal delegates with greetings.

30. Is this National Council Idea confined to the United States of America?

No. Since the organization of the National Council of Women of the United States in 1888, National Councils have been formed in France, Belgium, Switzerland, the Constitution of whose "L'Union Nationale des Femmes" is very similar to that of our Council, Canada (1893) and Germany (1894). In Italy, through the efforts of Signora Fanny Zampini Salazar, and under the patronage of Queen Margherita, the first steps have been taken toward forming an Italian Council of Women; and the King of Siam has, through the Royal Commissioner of that country at the Columbian Exposition, officially communicated to the President of our own National Council (who is Vice-President-at-Large of the International Council of Women) his desire that a Council of Women be organized in his country.

31. What is the relation of a National to the International Council?

Each National Council is an integral part of the International Council, and in the deliberations of the latter is represented by its President and one delegate.

32. What are briefly the advantages of the Council Idea to womanhood and humanity?

"Greater unity of thought, sympathy and purpose," among women who "find inspiration, breadth and release from limitations" through the respect they learn to feel for work differing radically from their own, yet like it in its purpose for the betterment of the evil conditions under which humanity labors today.

"The Council Idea, both National and International, is the climax in organization of the moral forces of society by women."

(Prepared by Rachel Foster Avery.)

TO WOMEN ALREADY INTERESTED IN THE COUNCIL IDEA, AND DESIROUS OF MAKING IT AVAILABLE FOR USE IN THEIR OWN COMMUNITIES:

Dear Friends: Already flourishing Local Councils are organized in the following cities: Providence, R.I.; Portland, Me.; Minneapolis, Minn.; Indianapolis, Ind.; Memphis, Tenn.; Quincy, Ill.; Akron, O.; Cleveland, O.; Maryville, Tenn.

In these cities experience has shown that societies uniting in a Council abate not one jot or tittle of their respective individuality or dignity — that, on the contrary, each is strengthened in its separate independent work by that enlargement of the circle of sympathy which is afforded by the Council. More-

over, it is found that the Council, aggregating as it does the strength and influence of its members, can prosecute successfully large enterprises which are quite outside the scope of any single group of women.

In one city, the Council has established free kindergartens; in another, it has secured the appointment of Police Matrons; in another, it has placed a woman on the School Board; in another, it has opened communication with the Municipal Government, thus gaining access to the Board of Health and the Board of Public Works, and bringing the opinions of women to bear effectually upon these bodies; in another, it has undertaken to secure a crematory for the destruction of refuse and garbage; in still another, it has sought to close public wine rooms, and, while not suppressing, it has sensibly abated this evil. Thus far Local Councils have directed their efforts chiefly to the improvement of public morals and city sanitation, and to increasing the educational facilities of their respective communities. In two cities, the Local Councils are considering the organization of Industrial Schools and of schools for training girls for domestic service.

Many applications for direction in forming Local Councils and for information concerning the relation of Local Councils to the National Council have been received by the officers of the latter. In reply they would say: The first step in organizing a Local Council is taken when the officers of one or more organizations invite the officers of all other organizations of women in the same community to meet for conference on the proposed step; or when an individual woman has invited the officers of local organizations to meet for such consideration.

The motto of the Local Council of Memphis, "All for each and each for all," expresses so happily the Council Idea that it is recommended as appropriate to all Councils.

The Local Council has resulted from the impulse given by the National Council, with which Locals naturally will seek to affiliate. To this end, it is recommended that they organize with a constitution harmonious with that of the National. A form has been approved, which in essentials is recommended to all; it is elastic enough to meet almost all, if not all, local needs, or can easily be modified to meet them.

Beyond question, the good resulting from Local Councils in other communities, would result from the organizations of such a Council in yours. To aid you in this we send herewith copies of the Council Catechism; copies of the recommended Constitution with copies of a Statement concerning the relation of Local and State Councils to the National Council.

Hoping that a Local Council may be organized in your community in time to be represented in the Triennial of 1895, and holding ourselves ready to aid further in organizing Local or State Councils, we remain,

Yours cordially,

MAY WRIGHT SEWALL, *President, N.C.W.*

RACHEL FOSTER AVERY, *Cor. Sec., N.C.W.*

TO WOMEN WHO MAY BE INTERESTED IN THE COUNCIL IDEA AND DESIROUS OF FORMING A LOCAL COUNCIL:

Women wishing to take the initiative in organizing Councils, Local or State, must bear in mind this fundamental element in the Council Idea, viz.: A Council is not formed for the purpose of bringing together representatives of different bodies, circles, or societies of people engaged in the same lines of work, but for the purpose of bringing together representatives of bodies, circles, or societies of people engaged in different lines of work. Therefore, as the National Council is composed of national organizations, each of which has a distinct and different purpose, so is a Local Council composed of local organizations, each of which has its independent and different object; and, in like manner, a State Council will be composed *not of Local Councils*, but of independent State organizations, each of which has its distinct aim.

It is most desirable that all Local and State Councils shall have immediate and direct relations with the National Council, be organically affiliated with it, and that, during the triennial sessions of the National Council, they shall have their just representation in its working body of which their representatives shall form a part.

Ultimately, indeed in all triennials subsequent to that announced for February 17 to March 2, 1895, it is expected that the National Council, convened formally, will be regarded as one body composed of two parts: the Upper Council (or House) and the Lower Council (or House), which will sit separately. All propositions pertaining to local work will originate in the Lower Council (or House); all measures passed there will be sent to the Upper Council (or House) for consideration, while all propositions relating to national work must originate in the Upper Council (or House), and when passed there must be sent to the Lower Council (or House) for consideration. Thus no proposition or measure passed by either Council (or House) will be binding upon the National Council and become a part of its programme until such measure is confirmed by the other Council (or House).

When the organization is completed, the President and the delegate from each Local Council will sit in the Lower Council (or House), and the President and delegate from each national organization will sit in the Upper Council (or House). The State Councils when effected will be more closely allied to both Local and National Councils than either of these is to the other, and hence the President of each State Council will sit in the Upper Council (or House) at triennial sessions, while the delegate of each State Council will sit in the Lower Council (or House) during such formal sessions; thus representatives of State Councils will have a voice in originating measures in both Houses.

FEES.—The triennial fee for every national organization belonging to the National Council is \$100.00. It is proposed that the triennial fee for every Local Council which is affiliated with the National Council shall be \$24.00, which may be paid by each Local Council at its option in annual installments of \$8.00, providing only that the entire \$24.00 shall be paid at least three months prior to the triennial session of the National Council.

It is proposed that the triennial fee for every State Council which is affiliated with the National Council shall be \$60.00, which may be paid by each

State Council at its option in annual installments of \$20.00, providing only that the entire \$60.00 shall be paid at least three months prior to the triennial session of the National Council.

The preceding statements indicate the final obligations of State and Local Councils to the National Council, when its organization shall be complete, and their respective privileges and responsibilities in it.

With reference to the triennial session of the National Council called for 1895, it shall be understood and agreed :

I. That Councils, Local and State, will be received into the National at any time prior to Feb. 1, 1895.

II. That the entire fee of any Council thus affiliating with the National must be paid prior to the opening of the Triennial on Feb. 17, 1895.

III. That both Houses (Upper and Lower Councils as described above) will sit together as one body.

IV. That the representatives of Local and State Councils will be expected to come prepared to introduce propositions relating to State and local matters respectively.

V. That each Local and State Council affiliated with the National before Feb. 1, 1895, shall be entitled to two Representatives, viz.: its President, or her proxy, and one delegate.

VI. That while the delegates of Local and State Councils may participate in the discussion of all measures proposed, each such Council shall have but one vote on questions submitted, and that vote shall be cast by the President of each Local or State Council, or by her proxy.

MAY WRIGHT SEWALL, *President*,
343 N. Pennsylvania Street, Indianapolis, Ind.

FRANCES E. BAGLEY, *Vice-President*,
Washington Ave., Detroit, Mich.

LILLIAN M. N. STEVENS, *Treasurer*,
Stroudwater, Me.

RACHEL FOSTER AVERY, *Corresponding Secretary*.
Somerton, Philadelphia, Pa.

ISABELLA CHARLES DAVIS, *Recording Secretary*,
158 W. Twenty-third Street, New York.

Form of Constitution suggested for a Local Council of Women :

PREAMBLE.

Believing that the more intimate knowledge of one another's work will result in larger mutual sympathy and greater unity of thought, and, therefore, in more effective action, certain associations of women in , interested in religion, philanthropy, education, literature, art and social reform, have determined to organize a Local Council, and, to that end, join the following

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.

Name.

This association shall be called the LOCAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF

ARTICLE II.

Policy.

The aim of this Council is to bring the various associations of women of into closer relations through an organic union; but no society entering the Council shall thereby lose its independence in aim or method, or be committed to any principle or method of any other society in the Council, the object of which is to serve a medium of communication, and a means of prosecuting any work of common interest.

ARTICLE III.

Members.

Any society of women in , the nature of whose work is satisfactory to the Executive Committee of the Council, may become a member of the Council, by its own vote, and by the payment of dollars annually, into the treasury of the Council.

ARTICLE IV.

Officers.

SECTION 1. The officers shall be a President, *ex officio* Vice-Presidents (as indicated in the second section of this Article), a Corresponding Secretary, a Recording Secretary and a Treasurer.

SECT. 2. The President of each society entering the Council shall be an *ex officio* Vice-President.

SECT. 3. These officers (including Vice-Presidents) shall compose the Executive Committee, whose business it shall be to control and provide for the general interests of the Council. Fifteen members shall constitute a quorum of this committee.

SECT. 4. The officers, excluding the Vice-Presidents, shall be elected by the Committee of Arrangements at a special session called for that purpose, during the annual meeting of the Council or prior thereto.

SECT. 5. The four general officers shall hold their offices for one year from the date of their election, or till their successors shall be duly elected.

ARTICLE V.

Meetings.

SECTION 1. The Council shall hold its annual meeting in ; the exact date shall be determined by the Executive Committee. The Committee

of Arrangements, to make preparations for such annual meeting, shall be composed of the Executive Committee, together with one delegate from each society belonging to the Council.

SECT. 2. At the annual meeting every society belonging to the Council shall have two votes; one of *these votes* shall be cast by the President of each society (or, in her absence, by the Vice-President of her society), the other by the delegate elected to represent it on the Committee of Arrangements. Neither of these representatives shall cast the vote of the other, nor shall the power of voting be delegated to any other member of a society.

SECT. 3. All members of any society belonging to the Council may have the privilege of proposing questions and of participating in all discussions that may arise at the annual meeting.

ARTICLE VI.

Privilege of Associations in Membership.

When any society belonging to the Local Council undertakes any work in which it desires to interest the other organizations in the Council, it may send a printed statement of the matter to the Corresponding Secretary of the Local Council, whose duty it shall be to communicate the matter to all societies in the Council through their respective Presidents.

ARTICLE VII.

Amendments.

This Constitution may be altered or amended by a majority vote of the Council at any annual meeting, printed notice of the proposed change having been sent to each society belonging to the Council at least one month prior to such meeting.

THE RELATION OF LOCAL COUNCILS OF WOMEN
TO THE
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF THE UNITED STATES.

It is most desirable that all Local and State Councils shall have immediate and direct relations with the National Council, be organically affiliated with it, and that, during the triennial sessions of the National Council, they shall have their just representation in its working body of which their representatives shall form a part.

Ultimately indeed in all triennials subsequent to that announced for February 17 - March 2, 1895, it is expected that the National Council, convened formally, will be regarded as one body composed of two parts, the Upper Council (or House) and the Lower Council (or House), which will sit separately. All propositions pertaining to local work will originate in the Lower Council (or House); all measures passed there will be sent to the Upper Council (or House) for consideration, while all propositions relating to national work must originate in the Upper Council (or House), and when passed there must be sent to the Lower Council (or House) for consideration. Thus no proposition or measure passed by either Council (or House) will be binding upon the National Council and become a part of its programme, until such measure is confirmed by the other Council (or House).

When the organization is completed, the President and the delegate from each Local Council will sit in the Lower Council (or House), and the President and delegate from each national organization will sit in the Upper Council (or House). The State Councils when effected will be more closely allied to both Local and National Councils than either of these is to the other, and hence the President of each State Council will sit in the Upper Council (or House) at triennial sessions, while the delegate of each State Council will sit in the Lower Council (or House) during such formal sessions; thus representatives of State Councils will have a voice in originating measures in both Houses.

FEES. — The triennial fee for every national organization belonging to the National Council is \$100.00. It is proposed that the triennial fee for every Local Council which is affiliated with the National Council shall be \$24.00, which may be paid by each Local Council, at its option in annual installments of \$8.00, providing only that the entire \$24.00 shall be paid at least three months prior to the triennial session of the National Council.

It is proposed that the triennial fee for every State Council which is affiliated with the National Council shall be \$60.00, which may be paid by each State

Council at its option in annual instalments of \$20.00, providing only that the entire \$60.00 shall be paid at least three months prior to the triennial session of the National Council.

The preceding statements indicate the final obligations of State and Local Councils to the National Council when its organization shall be complete, and their respective privileges and responsibilities in it.

With reference to the triennial session of the National Council called for 1895, it shall be understood and agreed :

I. That Councils, Local and State, will be received into the National at any time prior to Feb. 1, 1895.

II. That one-half the fee of any Council thus affiliating with the National must be paid prior to the opening of the triennial on Feb. 17, 1895.

III. That both Houses (Upper and Lower Councils as described above) will sit together as one body.

IV. That the representatives of Local and State Councils will be expected to come prepared to introduce propositions relating to State and local matters respectively.

V. That each Local and State Council affiliated with the National before Feb. 1, 1895, shall be entitled to two Representatives, viz., its President, or her proxy, and one delegate.

VI. That while the delegates of Local and State Councils may participate in the discussion of all measures proposed, each such Council shall have but one vote on questions submitted, and that vote shall be cast by the President of each Local or State Council, or by her proxy.

MAY WRIGHT SEWALL, *President*,
345 N. Pennsylvania Street, Indianapolis, Ind.

FRANCIS E. BAGLEY, *Vice-President*,
Washington Ave., Detroit, Mich.

LILLIAN M. N. STEVENS, *Treasurer*,
Stroudwater, Me.

RACHEL FOSTER AVERY, *Corresponding Secretary*,
Somerton, Philadelphia, Pa.

ISABELLA CHARLES DAVIS, *Recording Secretary*,
158 W. Twenty-third Street, New York.

With each of these documents was printed a list of the "Members of the Council," the "Patrons," and "Standing Committees of the National Council of Women," and they are here reproduced in a permanent record as follows, showing the strength of the National Council in the autumn of 1894 :

Members of the Council.

NATIONAL-AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

Susan B. Anthony, *President* . . . 17 Madison St., Rochester, N.Y.

WOMAN'S CENTENARY ASSOCIATION OF THE UNIVERSALIST CHURCH.

Cordella A. Quinby, *President* . . . 6 Maple St., Augusta, Me.

NATIONAL WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION.

Frances E. Willard, *President* . . . Evanston, Ill.

NATIONAL FREE BAPTIST WOMAN'S MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

Mary A. Davis, *President* . . . Arlington, R.I.

ILLINOIS INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL FOR GIRLS (NATIONAL CHARTER).

Mrs. M. R. M. Wallace, *President* . . . 70 State St., Chicago.

NATIONAL WOMAN'S RELIEF SOCIETY.

Zina D. H. Young, *President* . . . Salt Lake City, Utah.

WIMODAUGHSIS.

Ruth G. D. Havens, *President* . . 1328 I St. N.W., Washington, D.C.

SOROSIS.

Fannie I. Helmuth, *President* . . 299 Madison Ave., New York City.

YOUNG LADIES' NATIONAL MUTUAL IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION.

Elmina S. Taylor, *President*, 158 West Third South St., Salt Lake City, Utah.

NATIONAL CHRISTIAN LEAGUE FOR THE PROMOTION OF SOCIAL PURITY.

Elizabeth B. Grannis, *President*, 33 East Twenty-second St., New York City.

UNIVERSAL PEACE UNION.

Rev. Amanda Deyo, *Representative* . . . 740 22d St., San Diego, Cal.

INTERNATIONAL KINDERGARTEN UNION.

Sarah B. Cooper, *President* . . . 1902 Vallejo St., San Francisco, Cal.

WOMAN'S REPUBLICAN ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES.

J. Ellen Foster, *Pres.*, The Strathmore Arms, 810 Twelfth St. N.W., Wash.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF LOYAL WOMEN OF AMERICAN LIBERTY.

Mrs. I. C. Manchester, *President pro tem.*, 63 Ocean St., Providence, R.I.

WOMAN'S FOREIGN MISSIONARY UNION OF FRIENDS.

Lydia Taylor Painter, *President* . . . Monrovia, Ind.

WOMAN'S RELIEF CORPS, Auxiliary to the Grand Army of the Republic.

Emma R. Wallace, *National President* . . . 70 State St., Chicago, Ill.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF WOMEN STENOGRAPHERS.

Netta G. McLaughlin, *President* . . . 56 Central Music Hall, Chicago.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN.

Mrs. H. Solomon, *President* . . . 4060 Lake Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Patrons.

Mary Newbury Adams, Iowa.

Prof. Rasmus B. Anderson,

Wisconsin

Susan B. Anthony, New York.

Rosa Miller Avery, Illinois.

Emma J. Bartol, Pennsylvania.

Lucia E. Blount,

District of Columbia.

Laura Curtis Bullard, New York.

Albert Slo Caldwell, Tennessee.

Elizabeth Howard Childs,

New York.

Lydia Avery Coonley, Illinois.

Harriet Cooper, California.

Ruth O. Delamater, New York.

Louise E. Demorest, New York.

Ellen Battelle Dietrick,

Massachusetts.

Anna Dormitzer, New York.

Addie M. H. Ellis, Illinois.

Hon. Wm. Dudley Foulke, Indiana.

Emily Gross, Illinois.

Samuel E. Gross, Illinois.

Phoebe A. Hearst,

District of Columbia.

Fannie I. Helmuth, New York.

Esther Herrman, New York.

Emily Howland, New York.

Mary Jameson Judah, Tennessee.

Mary W. Kincaid, California.

Isabel King, Massachusetts.

Hannah E. Longshore, M D.,

Pennsylvania.

Jennie de la M. Lozier, M.D.,

New York.

Clara L. McAdow, Michigan.

Elizabeth C. McCaulley,

Delaware.

Paulina T. Merritt, Indiana.

Sarah C. Mink, New York.

Mary A. Newton, New York.

Emma F. Pettengill, New York.

Louise Downs Quigley,

New Jersey.

Louise Barnum Robbins,

Michigan.

Frances E. Russell, Minnesota.

M. Olivia Sage, New York.

Ferdinand Schumacher, Ohio.

J. C. Shaffer, Illinois.

Rev. Anna Howard Shaw,

Pennsylvania.

Nicolas M. Shaw, Pennsylvania.

May French Sheldon,

Massachusetts.

Sarah Sellers Smyth, Delaware.

Lady Henry Somerset, England.

Louisa M. Southworth, Ohio.

Jane H. Spofford,

District of Columbia.

Lucinda H. Stone, Michigan.

M. Louise Thomas, New York.

Ellen F. Thompson, California.

M. Adeline Thomson,

Pennsylvania.

Fannie Garrison Villard, New York.

Emmeline B. Wells, Utah.

Margaret Ray Wickins, Illinois.

Frances E. Willard, Illinois.

Mary H. Wilmarth, Illinois.

STANDING COMMITTEES OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF THE
UNITED STATES.

Committee on Dress.

FRANCES E. RUSSELL, *Chairman*,
Box 380, St. Paul, Minn.

Annie Jenness Miller,
Frank Stuart Parker,

Octavia W. Bates,
Laura Lee,
Annie White Johnson.

Bertha Morris Smith,
Annie L. Sloane,

Committee on Equal Pay for Equal Work.

Lucia E. Blount,

Mary Desha,

Mrs. Leland Stanford.

Committee on Divorce Reform.

ELLEN BATTELLE DIETRICK, *Chairman*,
20 Lowell Street, Cambridge, Mass.

Mary A. Livermore,

Fannie B. Ames.

Committee on Patriotic Instruction.

KATE BROWNLEE SHERWOOD, *Chairman*.
Canton, Ohio.

Isabella Charles Davis,
Eliza D. Keith,

Mary Desha.

Caroline E. Merrick,
Frances E. Willard,

CHAPTER XII.

* CALL FOR THE SECOND TRIENNIAL SESSION

OF THE

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF THE UNITED STATES.

The first triennial session of the National Council of Women of the United States was held in Washington in 1891. The second such session would have occurred in 1894 but for the fact that the organization of the World's Congress of Representative Women, held in Chicago in 1893, was entrusted to a committee of which the President and the Corresponding Secretary of the National Council were, respectively, chairman and secretary. The time and strength of these executive officers being thus diverted from national to international plans, it was ordered by the Executive Committee of the National Council that four instead of three years should elapse prior to its next regular public session, the date of which was then fixed for 1895. The attention of women throughout the country is thus early solicited to the following points relating to the approaching triennial:

I. The Council will open formally on Feb. 18, 1895, and, continuing two weeks, will close on March 2, 1895; it will be held in Metzert's Music Hall, Washington, D.C.

II. A meeting, of which the officers of the Council will have charge, will be held in the same hall on the afternoon of Sunday, February 17. A second religious service will occupy the afternoon of Sunday, February 24.

III. Exclusive of the Sunday meetings, there will be twenty-seven sessions of the Council proper, twelve morning and twelve evening sessions, and three or perhaps four afternoon sessions. The morning sessions will open at 10 a.m. and adjourn at 1 p.m. The first of these, held on Monday, February 18, will be occupied by the President's address, and by the introduction of delegates, regular and fraternal, and of guests; the second, held on Tuesday, February 19, and the last, held on Saturday, March 2, will be devoted exclusively to formal business. The remaining nine morning sessions will be filled by programmes made by the Committee of Arrangements of the National Council. Topics of broad general interest will be introduced at these sessions

* Issued in August, 1894.

by an adequate address, which will be followed by discussion in which only duly accredited members of the Triennial Council may participate, as follows :

- (a) The General Officers of the National Council.
- (b) The Patrons of the National Council.
- (c) The members of all the four standing committees of the National Council.
- (d) The President of each organization belonging to the National Council.
- (e) The Delegate of each organization belonging to the National Council.
- (f) The President of every State Council, and of every Local Council, which shall be affiliated with the National Council prior to Feb. 1, 1895.
- (g) The Delegate of every such State and of every such Local Council.

IV. In the business sessions mentioned above, where alone discussion will culminate in a vote, while the seven classes enumerated in the conclusion of the preceding paragraph may participate in all discussions, the classes described under (b), (c) and (g) may not vote; but all persons included in classes described under (a), (d), (e) and (f) may vote upon all propositions thus formally acted upon.

One morning session will be devoted to each of the four subjects continuously considered by the National Council through its four standing committees. The programme for all the morning sessions will be published later in detail.

V. The evening sessions will open at 8 p.m., and will adjourn at 10.30 p.m. Exclusive of the last they will be devoted to the presentation to the general public of the work of the organizations composing the National Council, through programmes which will be prepared by the officers or by special committees of such organizations, the separate programmes being subject to the approval of the Committee of Arrangements. The last evening session, viz., that held on March 2, will be occupied in presenting the work of the National Council proposed for the immediate future, and in introducing the officers-elect for the next term.

VI. According to the constitution, national organizations entering the National Council later than three months prior to the opening of the triennial session of 1895, cannot be considered members of the Council until after said session, although the officers and members of such associations will be welcome guests at the triennial.

VII. The National Councils of Women already formed in foreign countries, as France, Belgium, Germany and Canada, will be invited to send fraternal delegates; while all of the officers of the International Council of Women will be invited to attend, and its President, the Countess of Aberdeen, may be confidently expected.

Ultimately, indeed in all triennials subsequent to that of February, 1895, it is proposed that the National Council shall be convened as one body com-

posed of two parts, called respectively Upper Council (or House), and Lower Council (or House) — the general officers of the National Council and its Patrons with the Presidents and delegates of organizations belonging to the National Council sitting in the former, and the Presidents and delegates of Local Councils sitting in the latter; while State Councils, being more closely connected with both National and Local Councils than either of these is with the other, will be directly represented in both Houses — the President of each State Council sitting in the Upper Council (or House), and the delegate from each State Council sitting in the Lower Council (or House). But, in the triennial of 1895, the Presidents and delegates of all affiliated Local and State Councils and the Presidents and delegates of national organizations belonging to the National Council, with the general officers and the Patrons of the latter, will sit as one body, each having the privileges and powers designated in points III. and IV. of this announcement.

Pending the publication of the programme in detail, the officers of the National Council bespeak the interest of all who read this Call, and solicit correspondence on the subjects which it suggests.

MAY WRIGHT SEWALL, *President*,
343 N. Pennsylvania St., Indianapolis, Ind.

FRANCES E. BAGLEY, *Vice-President*,
Washington Ave., Detroit, Mich.

LILLIAN M. N. STEVENS, *Treasurer*,
Stroudwater, Me.

RACHEL FOSTER AVERY, *Corresponding Secretary*,
Somerton, Philadelphia, Pa.

ISABELLA CHARLES DAVIS, *Recording Secretary*,
158 West Twenty-third St., New York City.

The response to the above call can be inferred from the following programme, which indicates the character and scope of the second triennial of the National Council of Women.

SECOND TRIENNIAL SESSION
OF THE
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF THE UNITED STATES,
WASHINGTON, D.C.

METZEROTT'S MUSIC HALL, 12TH STREET, BELOW F STREET,

FEBRUARY 17 TO MARCH 2, 1895.

MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL.

NATIONAL-AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

Susan B. Anthony, President, New York.
Lucy E. Anthony, Delegate, New York.

NATIONAL WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION.

Frances E. Willard, President, Illinois.
Anna Foster Beiler, Proxy of President, District of Columbia.
Rebecca C. Chambers, Delegate, Pennsylvania.

NATIONAL FREE BAPTIST WOMAN'S MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

Mary A. Davis, President, Rhode Island.
Emeline Burlingame Cheney, Delegate, Maine.

ILLINOIS INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL FOR GIRLS (National Charter).

Emma R. Wallace, President, Illinois.
Margaret Ray Wickins, Delegate, Illinois.

NATIONAL WOMAN'S RELIEF SOCIETY.

Zina D. H. Young, President, Utah.
Emmeline B. Wells, Proxy of President, Utah.
Dr. Ellis R. Shipp, Delegate, Utah.

WIMODAUGHSIS.

Ruth G. D. Havens, President, District of Columbia.
Emma M. Gillett, Delegate, District of Columbia.

YOUNG LADIES' NATIONAL MUTUAL IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION.

Elmina S. Taylor, President, Utah.

Minnie J. Snow, Delegate, Utah.

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Committee on Patriotic Instruction.

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SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 1895.

AFTERNOON, 2.30 O'CLOCK.

Religious Service.

Sermon by REV. ANNIS FORD EASTMAN, New York,
Pastor Park Church (Congregational), Elmira.

TEXT (II. Peter i : 5, 6, 7) : " And besides this, giving all diligence, add to your faith, virtue; and to virtue, knowledge; and to knowledge, temperance; and to temperance, patience; and to patience, godliness; and to godliness, brotherly kindness; and to brotherly kindness, charity."

Assisted by KATHARINE LENTZ STEVENSON, REV. ANNA HOWARD SHAW,
ELIZABETH U. YATES and EMELINE BURLINGAME CHENEY.

UNION COMMUNION SERVICE.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 18, 1895.

MORNING SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK.

Formal Opening.

Introduction of Presidents and Delegates of organizations forming the
National Council of Women of the United States.

Presentation of greetings from the National Council of Women of Canada.

MRS. DRUMMOND, *Vice-President.*

MRS. FRANK GIBBS, *Vice-President.*

MRS. WILLOUGHBY CUMMINGS, *Corresponding Secretary.*

MRS. CLARK MURRAY.

MISS ROWAND.

MRS. J. V. ELLIS.

Greetings by Fraternal Delegates from organizations not in the Council.

Triennial Address of the President of the National Council of Women of the United States.

MAY WRIGHT SEWALL, Indiana.

AFTERNOON, 3 TO 5 O'CLOCK.

Reception.

The General Officers and the Ex-Officio Vice-Presidents of the Council will receive, informally, all Delegates and visitors to the triennial, in the parlors of the Ebbitt House.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 18, 1895.

EVENING SESSION, 8 O'CLOCK.

Religion.

National Free Baptist Woman's Missionary Society.

"Faith and Works Win."

Presiding Officer, MARY A. DAVIS, *President*, Rhode Island.

The Ethical Adjustment of Woman's Home and Sociological Duties.

FRANCES STEWART MOSHER, Michigan.

Practical Christian Living.

EMELINE BURLINGAME CHENEY, *Delegate*, Maine.

National Council of Women of the United States.

Report of Work to secure the Recognition of Women in Church Conferences.

ISABELLA CHARLES DAVIS, New York,

Recording Secretary of National Council of Women.

Address: The Attitude of the Leading Religious Denominations toward Woman's Growing Service in the Churches.

MARY LOWE DICKINSON, New York,

Patron of the National Council of Women.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 1895.

MORNING SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK.

The Influence of Women in Bringing Religious Conviction to Bear upon Daily Life.

MINNIE D. LOUIS, New York.

Discussion.

MARY F. LOVELL, Pennsylvania,
Delegate of the Anti-Vivisection Society.

FRANCES E. BAGLEY, Michigan,
Vice-President of the National Council of Women.

Open Discussion by Members of the Triennial.

Woman's Mission to the Church as Minister and Missionary,

KATHARINE LENTE STEVENSON, Massachusetts.

Discussion.

EMELINE BURLINGAME CHENEY, Maine,
Delegate of National Free Baptist Woman's Missionary Society.

Open Discussion by Members of the Triennial.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 19.

AFTERNOON SESSION, 3 O'CLOCK.

ORGANIZED WORK IN RELIGION.

Woman's Foreign Missionary Union of Friends.

HANNAH J. BAILEY, *Delegate, Maine.*

National Free Baptist Woman's Missionary Society.

MARY A. DAVIS, *President, Rhode Island.*

National Council of Jewish Women.

HANNAH G. SOLOMON, *President, Illinois.*

ORGANIZED WORK IN TEMPERANCE.

National Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

CLARA C. HOFFMAN, *Delegate, Missouri.*

EVENING SESSION, 8 O'CLOCK.

Religion.

National Council of Jewish Women.

Presiding Officer, HANNAH G. SOLOMON, *President*, Illinois.

Social Obligations of Religion.

SADIE AMERICAN, *Delegate*, Illinois.

Greek and Hebrew Thought: Influence on Christianity and Civilization.

CARRIE SHEVELSON BENJAMIN, Colorado.

Religious Education of Children.

ISABEL RICHMAN WALLACH, New York.

Temperance.

National Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

Presiding Officer, FRANCES E. WILLARD, *President*, Illinois.

Prayer by KATHARINE LENTE STEVENSON.

The Do-Everything Policy.

FRANCES E. WILLARD, *President*, Illinois.

Address.

BELLE KEARNEY, Mississippi.

What Promise for the Future?

CLARA C. HOFFMAN, *Delegate*, Missouri.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 20.

MORNING SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK.

BUSINESS SESSION.

EVENING SESSION, 8 O'CLOCK.

Education.

Young Ladies' National Mutual Improvement Association.

"Improvement our Motto; Perfection our Aim."

Presiding Officer, ELMINA S. TAYLOR, *President*, Utah.

The Ethical Side of Woman's Education.

MINNIE J. SNOW, *Delegate*, Utah.

What is Modern Education doing for American Girls?

SUSA YOUNG GATES, Utah.

The Relative Importance of Preventive to Corrective Work in Moral Reform.
(Paper.)

LILLIE T. FREEZE, Utah.

Read by SUSA YOUNG GATES, Utah.

Wimodaughsis.

Presiding Officer, RUTH G. D. HAVENS, *President*.

Woman as a Factor in Organized Charities.

ANNIE TOLMAN SMITH, District of Columbia.

Address,

RUTH G. D. HAVENS, *President*,

Address.

District of Columbia.

Rev. ANNA H. SHAW, Pennsylvania.

Patron of the National Council of Women.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 21.

MORNING SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK.

The Need of Co-operation of Men and Women in all Correctional Work.

FANNY PURDY PALMER, Rhode Island.

Discussion.

EMMELINE B. Wells, Utah,

Proxy of President of the National Woman's Relief Society.

HANNAH G. SOLOMON, Illinois,

President of the National Council of Jewish Women.

FANNIE BARRIER WILLIAMS, Illinois.

Woman's Work in Managing Public Institutions.

ELLEN C. JOHNSON, Massachusetts.

Open Discussion by Members of the Triennial.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 21.

AFTERNOON SESSION, 3 O'CLOCK.

ORGANIZED WORK IN PHILANTHROPY.

Young Ladies' National Mutual Improvement Association.

MINNIE J. SNOW, *Delegate*, Utah.

Illinois Industrial School for Girls (National Charter).

MARGARET RAY WICKINS, *Delegate*, Illinois.

National Woman's Relief Society.

EMMELINE B. WELLS, *Proxy of President*, Utah.

Wimodaughsis.

RUTH G. D. HAVENS, *President*, Dist. of Columbia.

EVENING SESSION, 8 O'CLOCK.

Philanthropy.

NATIONAL WOMAN'S RELIEF SOCIETY.

*"Charity never faileth."*Presiding Officer, EMMELINE B. WELLS, *Proxy of President*, Utah.

Hereditary and Progressionism.

DR. ELLIS R. SHIPP, *Delegate*, Utah.

The Sixth Sense (Paper).

SARAH M. KIMBALL, Utah.

Read by MARILIA DANIELS, Utah.

The Spirit of Reform Reduced to Practice (Paper).

LULA GREENE RICHARDS, Utah.

Read by AURELIA S. ROGERS, Utah.

Forty Years in the Valley of the Great Salt Lake.

EMMELINE B. WELLS, *Proxy of President*, Utah.Illinois Industrial School for Girls
(National Charter).*"Duties are Ours; Events are God's."*Presiding Officer, EMMA R. WALLACE, *President*, Illinois.

Industrial Schools and Schools of Science (Paper).

LOUISE ROCKWOOD WARDNER, Indiana.

The New Thought, the True Thought for Philanthropy.

MARGARET RAY WICKINS, *Delegate*, Illinois.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 22.

MORNING SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK.

Washington's Birthday.



"ONE FLAG"

Committee on Patriotic Instruction.

Report of Chairman.

KATE BROWNLEE SHERWOOD, Ohio.

Patriotism as an Element in Government:—

In Founding and Preserving Free Institutions.

KATE BROWNLEE SHERWOOD, Ohio,

Chairman of the Committee on Patriotic Instruction.

As a Factor in the Advancement of Woman.

FRANCES E. WILLARD, Illinois,

Member of the Committee on Patriotic Instruction

What the Flag has Cost Woman.

ELLEN S. MUSSEY, District of Columbia.

Patriotic Teaching as an Element in School Government:—

In Forming the Character of American Citizens.

LOUISE BARNUM ROBBINS, Michigan,

Patron of the National Council of Women.

As Expressed in the New York Free Kindergartens.

ISABELLA CHARLES DAVIS, New York,

Member of the Committee on Patriotic Instruction.

The Balch Salute (Illustrated by Little Girls).

SARAH C. MINK, New York,

Patron of the National Council of Women.

Discussion.

ELIZA D. KEITH (Paper), California,

MARY DESHA, District of Columbia,

Members of the Committee on Patriotic Instruction.

Open Discussion by Members of the Triennial.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 22.

EVENING SESSION, 8 O'CLOCK.

Patriotism.



"For God and American Liberty."

National Association of Loyal Women of American Liberty.

Presiding Officer, MRS. I. C. MANCHESTER, *President*, Rhode Island,

The Degree to which Women are Responsible for Maintaining the Sentiment of Patriotism in a Nation (Paper).

SARAH KENDALL HOWE, Maine.

Read by SARAH D. LA FETRA, *Delegate*, District of Columbia.

The Degree to which Governments, Ancient and Modern, have Availed themselves of the Patriotic Services of Women.

ANNA FISHER BEILER, District of Columbia.

Patriotic Singing.



Woman's Relief Corps, Auxiliary to the Grand Army of the Republic.

"Fraternity, Charity and Loyalty."

Presiding Officer, EMMA R. WALLACE, *President*, Illinois.

The Story of the Flag.

MARGARET RAY WICKINS, Illinois.

Patron of the National Council of Women.

Revolutionary Types of Women of the Republic.

KATE BROWNLEE SHERWOOD, *Delegate*, Ohio.

Women as Patriots (Paper).

MARY H. KROUT, Illinois.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 23.

MORNING SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK.

How Can the Higher Art be Brought to Bear upon the Common People through the Common Home and the Common School? (Paper.)

Dr. JULIA HOLMES SMITH, Illinois.

Read by CLARA BEWICK COLBY, Nebraska.

Discussion.

SARAH A. STEWART, Pennsylvania,

Proxy of the President of the International Kindergarten Union.

VIRGINIA E. GRAEFF, Pennsylvania,

Delegate of the International Kindergarten Union.

Open Discussion by Members of the Triennial.

Women as Directors in Education.

LOUISA PARSONS HOPKINS, Massachusetts.

Discussion.

ELMINA S. TAYLOR, Utah.

President of the Young Ladies' National Mutual Improvement Association.

ISABEL KING, Argentine Republic,

Patron of the National Council of Women.

Humanitarianism in Education.

CAROLINE EARLE WHITE, Pennsylvania,

Representative of the American Anti-Vivisection Society.

The Need of Business Education for Women. (Paper.)

NETTA G. McLAUGHLIN, Illinois,

President of the National Association of Women Stenographers.

Open Discussion by Members of the Triennial.

AFTERNOON SESSION, 3 O'CLOCK (FEBRUARY 23).

ORGANIZED WORK IN EDUCATION.

International Kindergarten Union.

SARAH A. STEWART, *Proxy of President, Pennsylvania.*

American Anti-Vivisection Society.

CAROLINE EARLE WHITE, *Representative, Pennsylvania.*

ORGANIZED WORK IN PATRIOTISM.

Woman's Relief Corps, Auxiliary to the Grand Army of the Republic.

KATE BROWNLEE SHERWOOD, *Delegate, Ohio.*

National Association of Loyal Women of American Liberty.

Mrs. I. C. MANCHESTER, *President, Rhode Island.*

ORGANIZED WORK IN POLITICS.

Woman's Republican Association of the United States.

EMILY S. CHACE, *Delegate, Rhode Island.*

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 23.

EVENING SESSION, 8 O'CLOCK.

Education.

International Kindergarten Union.

*"The Hope of the World Lies in the Children."*Presiding Officer, SARAH A. STEWART, *Proxy of President*, Pennsylvania.

The Kindergarten as an Economic Factor in Education.

VIRGINIA E. GRAEFF, *Delegate*, Pennsylvania.

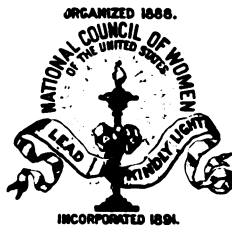
JESSIE E. BEERS, New York.

Child Study.

JENNIE B. MERRILL, New York.

Froebel's Psychology of Childhood.

LUCY WHEELOCK, Massachusetts.

Government Reform.National Council of Women of the
United States.

Our Proper Attitude Toward Immigration.

Paper by ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, New York.

Read by SUSAN B. ANTHONY, New York.

President of the National-American Woman Suffrage Association.

The Perils of Immigration.

MRS. I. C. MANCHESTER, Rhode Island.

President National Association of Loyal Women of American Liberty.

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 24.

AFTERNOON, 2.30 O'CLOCK.

Religious Service.

Sermon by REV. IDA C. HULTIN, Illinois.

*Pastor of the Unitarian Church, Moline, Ill.*Assisted by REV. ANNA HOWARD SHAW, SUSAN B. ANTHONY, MINNIE J. SNOW
and RACHEL FOSTER AVERY.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 25.

MORNING SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK.

Committee on Equal Pay for Equal Work:

Woman as a Factor in the Modern Business World.

HARRIET A. SHINN, Illinois.

Delegate National Association of Women Stenographers.

Discussion.

MARY DESHA, District of Columbia.

Member of the Committee on Equal Pay for Equal Work.

HARRIETTE A. KEYSER, New York.

RUTH G. D. HAVENS, District of Columbia.

President of Wimodaughsis.

EVA McDONALD VALES, Minnesota.

FRANCES E. W. HARPER, Pennsylvania.

JOSEFA HUMPAL ZEMAN, of Hull House

Vice-President for Bohemia in the International Council of Women.

VIRGINIA CHANLER TITCOMB, New York.

Open Discussion by Members of the Triennial.

EVENING SESSION, 8 O'CLOCK.

Industry.

National Association of Women Stenographers.

*"Not machines, but women; not self, but others."*Presiding Officer, HARRIET A. SHINN, *Delegate*, Illinois.

Concerning Labor and the Unemployed.

MARY E. MILLER, Illinois.

Current Conditions of Labor for Wage-Earning Women and Children.

MARIE L. PRICE, Illinois.

Politics.

Woman's Republican Association of the United States.

Presiding Officer, J. ELLEN FOSTER, *President*.

How can the Moral Element in Current Politics be Supplied?

J. ELLEN FOSTER, *President*, District of Columbia.

The Women against the Tammany Tiger.

HELEN VARICK BOSWELL, New York.

Bimetalism the Imminent Issue.

ELIZABETH SHELDON, Connecticut.

MARGARET SULLIVAN BURKE, Dist. of Columbia.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 26.**MORNING, 10 O'CLOCK.****BUSINESS SESSION.****AFTERNOON SESSION 3 O'CLOCK (FEBRUARY 26).****Organized Work in the Municipality.**

Local Council of Women of Indianapolis.

JOSEPHINE R. NICHOLS, Delegate.

Local Council of Women of Quincy, Illinois.

CORNELIA A. COLLINS, Proxy of President.

Local Council of Women of Portland, Maine.

GERTRUDE STEVENS LEAVITT, Proxy of President.

EVENING SESSION, 8 O'CLOCK (FEBRUARY 26).**Municipal Work.**

The Relation of Household to Municipal Sanitation, of Private to Public Hygiene.

ANNE T. SCRIBNER, Pennsylvania.

Woman's Relation to Hygiene in the Past, Present and Future.

DR. MARY E. GREEN, Michigan.

The Separation of Politics from Municipal Management (Paper).

ADA C. SWEET, Illinois.

The Needed Factor in Municipal Government (Paper).

KATE BOND, New York.

Our Duty to the Degraded Classes.

PROF. MARIA L. SANFORD, Minnesota.

Non-Partisanship in Municipal Boards.

JOSEPHINE R. NICHOLS, Indiana.*Delegate of Local Council of Women of Indianapolis.*

The City and the State.

J. ELLEN FOSTER, District of Columbia.*President of the Woman's Republican Association of the United States.*

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 27.

MORNING SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK.

Committee on Dress.

Report of Chairman.

FRANCES E. RUSSELL, Minnesota.

The Ethics of Dress.

Rev. IDA C. HULTIN, Illinois.

Patron of the National Council of Women.

Dress as an Art.

MARTHA STRICKLAND, Illinois.

Improved Dress from a Working Woman's Standpoint (Paper).

EVA McDONALD VALESH, Minnesota.

Improved Dress from a Bicyclist's Standpoint.

FRANCES E. SEAVEY, Massachusetts.

Improved Dress from a Physician's Standpoint (Paper).

Dr. LELIA A. DAVIS, Canada.

Improved Dress from a Hygienic Standpoint.

ELLEN A. RICHARDSON, Massachusetts.

Improved Dress from the Standpoints of Comfort, Health and Beauty

ANNIE WHITE JOHNSON, Illinois,

Member of the Committee on Dress.

CLARA BEWICK COLBY, Nebraska.

JULIA PAULINE LEAVENS, District of Columbia.

Open Discussion by Members of the Triennial.

EVENING SESSION, 8 O'CLOCK (FEBRUARY 27).

Education.

American Anti-Vivisection Society.

Is Vivisection Morally Justifiable?

CAROLINE EARLE WHITE, *Representative*, Pennsylvania

The Worst Thing in the World.

MARY F. LOVELL, *Delegate*, Pennsylvania.

Moral Reform.

National Council of Women of the United States.

One Result of the Double Moral Standard.

CHARLTON EDHOLM, Illinois.

Morality vs. Moral Codes.

Rev. IDA C. HULTIN, Illinois.

Patron of the National Council of Women.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 28.

MORNING SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK.

Committee on Divorce Reform.

Report of Chairman.

ELLEN BATTELLE DIETRICK, Massachusetts.

Equality in Legislation Concerning Divorce.

ELLEN BATTELLE DIETRICK, Massachusetts.

Chairman of the Committee on Divorce Reform.

Discussion.

ELIZABETH B. GRANNIN, New York.

President of National Christian League for the Promotion of Social Purit

HARRIET A. SHINN, Illinois.

Delegate of National Association of Women Stenographers.

EVENING SESSION, 8 O'CLOCK (FEBRUARY 28).

Religion.

Women's Foreign Missionary Union of Friends.

"Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature."

Presiding Officer, HANNAH J. BAILEY, *Delegate, Maine.*

Woman's Mission to the Church as Minister and Missionary.

ELIZA C. ARMSTRONG, Indiana.

Peace.

Universal Peace Union.

Presiding Officer, HANNAH J. BAILEY, *Proxy of Representative, Maine.*

Peace Work in its Relation to Woman.

HANNAH J. BAILEY, *Proxy of Representative, Maine.*

The Growth of Peace Principles and Methods of Propagating Them.

BELVA A. LOCKWOOD, *Delegate, District of Columbia.*

National Council of Women.

Address.

THE COUNTESS OF ABERDEEN, Scotland.

President of the International Council of Women.

FRIDAY, MARCH 1.

MORNING SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK.

Proportional Representation (Memorial).

Read by CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, New York.

Is Physical Force the Basis of Government?

REV. ANNA HOWARD SHAW, Pennsylvania,

Patron of the National Council of Women.

Discussion.

LILLIE DEVEREUX BLAKE, New York.

FRANCES E. W. HARPER, Pennsylvania.

MINNIE J. SNOW, Utah,

Delegate of the Young Ladies' National Mutual Improvement Association.

Open Discussion by Members of the Triennial.

AFTERNOON SESSION, 3 O'CLOCK.

ORGANIZED WORK FOR PEACE.

Universal Peace Union.

HANNAH J. BAILEY, *Proxy of Representative*, Maine.

ORGANIZED WORK IN INDUSTRY.

National Association of Women Stenographers.

HARRIET A. SHINN, *Delegate*, Illinois.

ORGANIZED WORK IN MORAL REFORM.

National Christian League for the Promotion of Social Purity.

ELIZABETH B. GRANNIS, *President*, New York.

ORGANIZED WORK IN GOVERNMENT REFORM.

National-American Woman Suffrage Association.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY, *President*, New York.

EVENING SESSION, 8 O'CLOCK.

Moral Reform.

National Christian League for the Promotion of Social Purity.

Presiding Officer, ELIZABETH B. GRANNIS, *President*, New York.

The Equal Moral Standard.

CAROLINE B. BUELL, *Delegate*, Connecticut.

The Effect of a Double Moral Standard upon Modern Life.

ISABELLA CHARLES DAVIS, New York.

Recording Secretary of the National Council of Women.

The Relation of Religion to Morals.

REV. F. D. POWER.

A Plan for Providing Homes and Proper Training for Unfortunate Children.

VIRGINIA THRALL SMITH, Connecticut.

Physical Health a Basis for Purity of Morals.

E. MARGUERITE LINDLEY, New York.

Government Reform.

National-American Woman Suffrage Association.

*"Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed."*Presiding Officer, SUSAN B. ANTHONY, *President*, New York.

Woman's Work and the Ballot.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY, *President*, New York.

The Twentieth Century Woman.

EMMA A. CRANMER, South Dakota.

The Financial Argument.

ALICE STONE BLACKWELL, Massachusetts.

Woman's Part in a Republic.

ANNIE L. DIGGS, Kansas.

The Coming Civilization.

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, New York.

SATURDAY, MARCH 2, 1895.

MORNING, 10 O'CLOCK.

BUSINESS SESSION.

EVENING, 8 O'CLOCK (MARCH 2).

Closing Session

OF THE

SECOND TRIENNIAL OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF
THE UNITED STATES.

Introduction of newly elected officers.

MARY LOWE DICKINSON, *President*, New York City.

REV. ANNA HOWARD SHAW, *Vice-President-at-large*, Philadelphia, Pa.

LOUISE BARNUM ROBBINS, *Corresponding Secretary*, Adrian, Mich.

EMELINE BURLINGAME CHENEY, *First Recording Secretary*, Lewiston, Me.

HELEN FINLAY BRISTOL, *Second Recording Secretary*, Quincy, Ill.

HANNAH J. BAILEY, *Treasurer*, Winthrop Centre, Me.

Address by the Incoming President.

MARY LOWE DICKINSON.

Farewell Address.

MAY WRIGHT SEWALL,

President of the National Council of Women.

Address by the President of the International Council of Women.

THE COUNTESS OF ABERDEEN, Scotland.

The following addresses with which the second President of the National Council of Women of the United States, Mrs. May Wright Sewall, opened and closed the second triennial on February 18 and March 2, respectively, 1895, are here reproduced. Their place in a record which is intended to give the origin, the history, the aims, the spirit and the method of the National Council is justified by their presentation of these topics.

ADDRESS
BY
MAY WRIGHT SEWALL,
President of the National Council of Women,
AT THE
OPENING OF ITS SECOND TRIENNIAL,
FEBRUARY 18, 1895.

Between the adjournment of the first triennial session of the National Council of Women of the United States, convened on February 22, and closed on Feb. 25, 1891, and the opening of the second triennial session of the same body, stretch four pregnant years; years characterized by an activity, an aspiration and a resulting growth which make it quite impossible to enumerate their gains, and which proportionately diminish the propriety, or even the possibility, of going back of their thither limit in this address.

Still we of the National Council can magnify our office, and thereby magnify the Council itself, only by holding in a cherishing regard the doctrine which enjoins the dignity of continuity. Therefore, wealth of materials within the years which properly lend themselves as a subject for this address must not prevent us from remembering and celebrating the origin of the Council or from repeating its fundamental principles.

Let us never forget that the National Council sprang from the first International Council, which in its turn was the product of hospitality and festive joy.

The first President of the National Council, opening its first triennial session four years ago, quoted the sentiment with which, three years prior to that time, Elizabeth Cady Stanton had opened the great meeting which at once celebrated a birthday anniversary and the birth of a new idea. No more fitting words can be found with which to open the second triennial session. Remember them with me: "A difference of opinion on one question must not prevent us from working unitedly in those on which we agree." There is a large-mindedness, a sweetness

and serenity of spirit in these words which characterizes the "new woman," of whom we hear so much false flippancy. To work together with those with whom one does not agree has been thought to be impossible to women, and indeed even during the era of organization the central motive of all organizations has been to bring together those who do agree. This very fact was the weakness and the danger of organization as it was known prior to 1888. Shall we repeat together the fundamental principles of the National Council? I shall cite you to its constitution. It is as well worth reading at its successive triennial sessions as is the Declaration of Independence on every recurring Fourth of July. Here is its preamble:

We, the women of the United States, sincerely believing that the best good of our homes and our nation will be advanced by our own greater unity of thought, sympathy and purpose, and that an organized movement of women will best conserve the highest good of the family and the State, do hereby band ourselves together in a federation of workers committed to the overthrow of all forms of ignorance and injustice, and to the application of the Golden Rule to society, custom and law.

Article II. states its general policy as follows:

This Council is organized in the interest of no one propaganda, and has no power over the organizations which constitute it beyond that of suggestion and sympathy; therefore, no society voting to enter this Council shall thereby render itself liable to be interfered with in respect of its complete organic unity, independence, or methods of work, or be committed to any principle or method of any other society, or to any act or utterance of the Council itself beyond compliance with the terms of this constitution.

It was not until the first business session of the second triennial term that a motto for the Council was suggested. Among many candidates for this honor, after long months of reflection and correspondence, that presented by the first Treasurer of the Council, M. Louise Thomas, and earnestly supported by the first President, Frances E. Willard, was finally adopted,—“Lead, Kindly Light.” Surely this motto is worthy of being considered in itself a statement of a fundamental principle. That it is expressed in the form of an apostrophe does not diminish its force.

In opening this second triennial session, and throughout the deliberations of the next fourteen days, may every member of the Council be led by the “kindly Light,” whose favor is continually courted by our banner and our badges. Led by the kindly light, courtesy will characterize the tone of our discussions, and wisdom will crown their conclusions.

In reviewing the work of the Council during the past four years, one must recur to one of the resolutions passed at the last executive session of the first triennial. In a long series this was number V., and is as follows :

Resolved, That, inasmuch as the Columbian Exposition of 1893 will afford an exceptional opportunity for convening representatives of all countries, the officers of the National Council shall invite the officers of the International Council of Women to hold its first meeting in Chicago in the summer of 1893

In this resolution one sees the first step taken by the National Council toward the World's Congress of Representative Women. It will be remembered that at the first triennial the platform was graced by the presence of Bertha Honoré Palmer and Ellen M. Henrotin, who, as President and Vice-President of the Woman's Branch of the World's Congress Auxiliary, united in a most cordial invitation to both the International and National Councils to hold a meeting in Chicago during the Exposition, under the auspices of the Congress Auxiliary. They accompanied their invitations with substantial inducements, such as the printing of all announcements and reports of the meetings, and a suitable hall for it, free of rent. The invitation was accepted by the International Council, and the preparations for its meeting were committed to the hands of its American officers, Clara Barton, its Vice-President, and Rachel Foster Avery, its Corresponding Secretary, and the President of the National Council of Women of the United States.

At the executive session of the National Council, held in Indianapolis, in May, 1891, it was voted to provide entertainment for all duly accredited representatives from foreign countries during the session of the proposed International Council of Women in Chicago. Beyond what is implied in the above statements, the National Council held no official relation to the World's Congress of Representative Women; but the President of the National Council was appointed chairman of the Committee of Organization, having in charge the preparations for the World's Congress, and the Corresponding Secretary of the Council was appointed secretary of this committee. Undoubtedly the chairman and secretary of this committee were appointed to their respective positions by the officers of the World's Congress Auxiliary and of the woman's branch thereof, because of their official relation to the International Council of Women. But there was no other connection between the National Council, as such, and that Congress. However, it cannot be questioned that the existence of a National Council in the United States greatly facilitated the management of the World's Congress of Repre-

sentative Women, and so generally did the members of the Council enter into the conception of the Council's duty at the time, that the work in connection with the World's Congress of Representative Women absorbed the strength of the National Council for the first two years of the period just closing. That in a certain sense the Council suffered direct loss by having its interest thus diverted to an object outside of its original conception cannot be doubted, but that the indirect gains to the "Council Idea" more than counterbalanced the loss is also beyond question. The extension of the "Council Idea" through the agency of the World's Congress is a fine illustration of the sacred truth that "he who would save his life must lose it."

WORK OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL IN THE WORLD'S CONGRESS OF
REPRESENTATIVE WOMEN AND EXHIBIT OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL
OF WOMEN IN THE COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION.

What the World's Congress of Representative Women was, what it did and what it failed to do, and the degree of the National Council's responsibility for the success of the Congress and for its failure, are all presented with such approximation to the truth as was possible to the editor, in the two volumes which comprise the "Historical Résumé" of that Congress.*

Among the many ingenious provisions made by the Board of Lady Managers for the exhibit of woman's work, none was more unique than what was known as the Organization Room in the Woman's Building. It was not until the first of June that the space assigned to the National Council in that curious and interesting room was ready for occupancy, but from that time to the last day of the Exposition, Oct. 31, 1893, the banners of the National Council and of the International, the same that adorn the walls of the hall in which we meet today, ornamented the space, presenting to the wandering eyes of the wayfaring man a legend of which many a wayfarer sought of the curator of the space an explanation. The register of the National Council, kept during that time, contains the names of over eight thousand visitors; names written in almost every form, not excluding the cuneiform script of the Egyptian. It was thought by the curator that less than one-third of the visitors to the space registered; and upon this opinion it is estimated that the number of visitors to the Council headquarters during the months of the Columbian Exposition was not less than thirty thousand. The President of the Council was "at home" from three to four o'clock daily

* Edited by May Wright Sewall. Published by Rand & McNally of Chicago.

in the Council's space, and there received numerous deputations of strangers of many nationalities, if not of every one, represented in the Exposition itself. While this did not make directly for the upbuilding of the National Council, it did make for the propagation of the "Council Idea," as the correspondence resulting from these interviews abundantly testifies.

GROWTH OF THE COUNCIL DURING THE LAST FOUR YEARS.

If you question the growth of the Council itself, I must again refer you to our banners. Of the seventeen national organizations, the names and titles of which are inscribed thereon, only seven were members at the first triennial. Have there been losses as well as gains? Yes; two societies, members of the National Council in 1891, and indeed retaining membership until within a few months, have withdrawn. These are the Woman's Centenary Association of the Universalist Church and Sorosis, "mother of clubs." In the reasons for the withdrawal of these organizations may be found some of the criticisms urged against the form and character of the organization of the Council. The former undoubtedly felt it a burden to pay the triennial fee of one hundred dollars, and it must be confessed that almost all missionary, religious and philanthropic organizations view the triennial fee with the same unfriendly regard. These organizations urge that their constitutions stipulate the objects for which money may be expended, and they feel that in expending one hundred dollars, even though this triennial obligation may be met in annual installments of thirty-three and one-third dollars each on membership in the National Council, they are diverting just that amount from their legitimate object. Plausible as this objection seems, and honestly as it is urged, I believe it is unsound in principle and unwarranted in fact. It is not unreasonable to suppose that by presenting their respective claims before the large audiences which the triennial sessions of the Council afford, all philanthropic and religious associations may not only increase their membership, but awaken a friendly and helpful interest in those who would not care to become members of societies committed to specific sectarian objects. The treasuries of such organizations may well be enriched through the triennial sessions of the Council by contributions far exceeding the triennial fee.

Again, even if the constitution of an organization limits the purposes for which the resources of its treasury may be expended, the constitution of no society prohibits it from soliciting contributions for special extraordinary purposes.

I am not aware that a reason was assigned by Sorosis for its withdrawal; nor does it seem that any declaration was necessary. In 1888, when the National Council was organized, there being then no confederation of the woman's clubs throughout the country, Sorosis, which had been invited to represent the club movement in the International Council, naturally voted to enter the National Council, and was gladly accepted on the ground that, as the originator of the club movement (a movement that had reached all sections of the country), it possessed "a national value." In this capacity it was received into the Council to represent therein the club movement until an organization of clubs national *in scope* as well as in value should arise. It was certainly the tacit understanding that when such an organization of the club movement should be effected it would enter the Council and Sorosis would retire. The anticipated order has been changed; Sorosis has retired, and the nationalized club movement entitled the General Federation of Woman's Clubs has not yet entered. But this fact does not affect the logic of the position. From the first address issued by the officers of the National Council, in November, 1888, I quote the following paragraph:

"*The leading object of this new movement is to aggregate all local societies having the same object into national societies eligible to auxiliaryship in the National Council of Women.*

"For instance, the clubs organized by women in all the leading cities have thus far been isolated, but it is hoped that a convention will be called within a year to form a National Federation of Women's Clubs. The influence of individual clubs will be increased by coming into such a federation, and the federation would be eligible to auxiliaryship in the National Council. The same is true of the Woman's Protective Agencies, and many other excellent societies that have been organized locally but not as yet generally" (meaning nationally).

So far as is known, this paragraph contains the first hint of a National Federation of Women's Clubs. M. Louise Thomas, then President of Sorosis, was likewise Treasurer of the National Council, and joined in the address from which the preceding paragraph is quoted, to which her name is subscribed. It is not necessary to review the history of the General Federation, of which, undoubtedly, a large percentage of the women who will participate in the deliberations of the Second Triennial of the National Council are members. They are justly grateful to Sorosis for taking the responsibility and the labor of the initiative in organizing the General Federation, and are proud and happy in

their membership therein through their respective local clubs. It is just as true that the influence of individual organizations is increased by coming into such a confederation of societies as the Council, as it is that the influence of individual clubs is increased by coming into such a body as the General Federation, and what the General Federation is to the Club, that the National Council should be to the General Federation, and to every other national organization. That the logic of this position will ultimately be seen by the General Federation, and when seen followed, cannot be doubted. I believe that as rapidly as organizations understand that *membership* in the Council does not mean *subordination*, they will hasten to enter it.

But we must not dwell upon our losses to the exclusion of a consideration of our gains. The ten truly national organizations that have been admitted to the Council since 1891 are the following:

National Christian League for the Promotion of Social Purity; Universal Peace Union; International Kindergarten Union; Woman's Republican Association of the United States; National Association of Loyal Women of American Liberty; Women's Foreign Missionary Union of Friends; Woman's Relief Corps, Auxiliary to the Grand Army of the Republic; National Association of Women Stenographers; National Council of Jewish Women; American Anti-Vivisection Society.

Moreover, in 1891, three days sufficed for the presentation of the Council's work. In 1895 fourteen days are required. In 1891 the first triennial comprised eight sessions. In 1895 the second triennial expands to thirty-two sessions.

METHODS OF WORK.

The work of the Council has been carried on through standing committees, three of which were organized in 1891, one of which was organized only in May of 1894. The names of the committees indicate their object, namely, Committee on Dress, Committee on Divorce Reform, Committee on Equal Pay for Equal Work, Committee on Patriotism. The name of the first committee has the distinctive advantage of indicating a subject which everybody agrees it is the province of women to consider. If, however, this indicates the most universal need, it also indicates a subject so personal that it is a matter of the greatest delicacy and difficulty to deal with it. In this connection it would be ungrateful not to make public acknowledgment of the distinguished services of Frances E. Russell, chairman of the Committee on Dress. Through the work of Mrs. Russell and her faithful and

ardent co-laborers, the demand for hygienic and modest dress has secured a hearing in quarters never before reached by this appeal. It is well at this point to cite the resolution passed at the first business session of the present administration, at the close of the first triennial:

Resolved, That the general officers shall appoint a committee of women whose duty it shall be to report within a year suggestions for a business costume for women which shall meet the demands of health, comfort and good taste.

The work of the committee has been in line with the above resolution, and the report of the committee published in 1893, gave the result of two years of earnest, intelligent labor. The Symposium on Dress, published by the Council in the *Arena* in August of the same year, and the continued discussion of the subject by Mrs. Russell and her associates, through the columns of the *Arena*, the *Review of Reviews*, the *Woman's Journal*, and other progressive papers and magazines throughout the country, has awakened an interest in improved dress which its most ardent advocates could not four years ago have anticipated. We should be far from claiming the credit for the entire force of this wave of interest, and for the change which indisputably has been wrought in public opinion; but in every corner of our country, in humble hamlet, in artistic and exclusive headquarters of clubs, on fashionable streets of our largest cities, in the dress clubs of college students gathered in all of the great colleges and universities admitting women, the subject is discussed, and advancement in sense and taste is illustrated by the costumes devised and worn. We know that in this work the Council has been but one among many influences, but we modestly believe that it has been a dominating one.

Perhaps the work of no other of our committees has been so universally misunderstood as that of the Committee on Divorce Reform. The immediate object of the Council in organizing such a committee is indicated by the resolution passed upon the subject in the business session already so frequently referred to in this address:

Resolved, That the Council urge upon the National Divorce Reform League the eminent fitness and consequent obligation of placing women on its Board.

At the outset the Council had no theories concerning divorce which it wished to foist upon the public. Certainly through the organization of the standing committee it had no intention of expressing a sympathy with what is called "easy divorce." It seemed to the Council in 1891, as it seems to the Council in 1895, that masculine arrogance could go

no further than to organize a league for the avowed purpose of advocating and securing a reform of laws concerning divorce, from the membership of which women were excluded. From time immemorial the natural interest of women in marriage has been stimulated by poet, preacher, teacher, essayist and lecturer, and by the prevailing tone of society, of low and high degree alike. Therefore, if there is any subject upon which it would seem consistent with the domestic nature, domestic habits, domestic tendency of women to express itself, it would seem to be the subject of marriage and its counterpart, divorce. What the Council first sought was membership for women in the National Divorce Reform League. This was obtained, and all women were honored and the interests of reform promoted by securing for Mrs. Mary A. Livermore, Mrs. Fanny B. Ames, and Mrs. Ellen Battelle Dietrick membership within said League.

During the sessions of this triennial the attitude of the Council upon the subject of divorce will undoubtedly be clearly indicated by the report of this standing committee, and by the discussions which will follow the report. But it is not unfit to declare here that at the present time the Council is not expressing itself regarding the propriety or impropriety of divorce *per se*, but it is on record as demanding that in every State throughout the Union, that in the United States as a whole, wherever a commission is formed to investigate and report upon laws relating to marriage and divorce, said commission shall be composed of an equal number of men and women.

There is no other demand made by so-called "progressive women" so universally concurred in by the conservative as the demand included in the proposition that equal pay should go with equal work. This was one of the first subjects upon which the Council expressed itself, and it restated its position in 1891 in the following resolution:—

Resolved, That the National Council of Women shall present to the proper authorities a formal request that in all departments of its service the Government shall pay its employees equal pay for equal work, and that both in engaging and promoting its employees it shall consider efficiency and not sex, and thus set the standard for the country.

That there has been great gain both in increased sentiment and in a closer approximation to justice on the subjects presented in the above resolution the records of the last four years abundantly attest, though what the Council set out to get it has not yet attained, namely, a statute from the United States Congress making this rule universally applicable wherever the Government employs men and women to do the same work. It was a great gain for this cause that, as employees of the Gov-

ernment, the members of the Board of Lady Managers received the same per diem for their service in connection with the Columbian Exposition that was received by the men belonging to that commission for their services. It would be well for women to bear in mind that the endorsement of this resolution is practically involved in the doctrine of civil service reform, and when it is announced that fifty thousand employees are now under the protection of the civil service reform law, it means a great step towards the recognition of the right of woman to be paid for her work instead of having her wages restricted by the fact of her sex.

The fourth line of effort undertaken by the Council through standing committees is that indicated by the name of the fourth committee, "The Committee on Patriotic Instruction." The assertion is not infrequently made that patriotism is on the decline; that not only the spirit of '76 but the spirit of 1861 as well has expired and, wrapped in the mantle of peace, is embalmed merely in patriotic memory. It is well for women to bear in mind that this assertion is made only by those who believe that the highest expression of patriotism is found in one's willingness to die for one's country. If the truth shall ever be universally recognized that to die for one's country is a service far inferior to *living for one's country*, women must bear a large share in its inculcation. So long the ideal of physical courage has been recognized in a willingness to meet death, and the highest ideal of moral courage has been associated with *willingness to meet death for a good and noble cause*, that it has grown a difficult task to make people realize that it requires more physical courage to live three-score years and ten than to die at an earlier date; and that it requires more moral courage to come up to four-score years "by reason of strength," which has been devoted to the illustration as well as to the advocacy of high moral ideals, than to die for any, however noble, cause. What the world needs is not men who can meet death and women who can see their beloved die without terror and without revolt. Such men and such women it has had from the earliest historic times. But it needs men and women who together can meet life, who can unite in the solution of its problems which, with the advancement of civilization, are constantly becoming more delicate, more intricate and more exacting. In this new time patriotism must take on in women the form corresponding to that which it took in earlier times, but not identical with it. My own conviction is, that women should be the inspirers of men. That men and women must mutually inspire each other perhaps goes without the saying; but when the transition period, of which we all talk so much and which seems so long in its passing, shall be over, I believe that women will primarily be

the inspirers, secondarily the doers, while men will be secondarily the inspirers, and primarily the doers. Perhaps the highest patriots thought that the duty exacted in 1861 was death. Whether right or wrong in interpreting the signs of that time, all must agree that death is not the duty exacted of the patriots of today. It is perhaps a harder one. Today patriotism exacts an unprejudiced, unbiased, impartial study of the great problems which have become bones of contention between capital and labor; of the other great problems whose solution must determine the limit of individualism and the limit of government control or interference. It is quite impossible that men shall solve these problems wisely who have grown up in homes where these great problems were held in abeyance to the relatively trifling questions of what we shall eat, and what we shall wear, and what our neighbors say, or indeed, what the last novel, or the last poem say; subjects which a prevailing dilettanteism takes quite seriously. Patriotic men cannot be produced in homes where patriotic women do not exist. So if one limits the consideration of woman's patriotism to the influence which it should exert in her home, a standing committee on patriotism ought to commend itself to the approval of the entire nation. However, in this country women are not only mothers and teachers at home, but by the hundreds of thousands they are teachers in the public schools; by the tens of thousands they are teachers in academies and seminaries; by hundreds they are teachers in colleges and universities; by scores they are serving upon school boards and municipal boards, and are thus officially related to the government. As voters in twenty States they participate in school elections, in three States in all municipal elections, in two States in all elections. Since the first triennial of the National Council, women have sat as regularly elected delegates in the nominating convention of a great political party convened for the purpose of nominating candidates for the Presidency and the Vice-Presidency of the United States. And even as I speak, in the legislature of a great State sit three women as duly qualified members of that General Assembly, introducing bills that shall become, that have become laws, discussing public measures, voting for or against measures that shall enter into the civil and political life of a great people. It is high time that the National Council had a standing committee on patriotism.

In considering the methods by which the National Council works, its annual executive sessions must not be omitted. The executive sessions of the last four years have been as follows: May, 1891, in Indianapolis; May, 1892, in Chicago; May, 1893, in Chicago; May, 1894, in Philadelphia. There is no time to present in this address the

work done in these executive sessions. The minutes of all of them will be presented during the business sessions of this triennial, and the results of their deliberations have from time to time been issued in addresses, statements, letters and reports, which have put before the women of the country the "Council Idea" in the progress of its evolution. All of these documents indicate that the Council has been steadily approximating the ideal presented in the address of its first president. This ideal has naturally and inevitably been modified by criticism, advice and experience, and neither in its original nor in its modified form can we claim that it has been reached. The first step toward a parliament of two houses would necessarily be the building up of the constituency which shall furnish the representatives in the two houses. It is the building up of this double constituency to which the general officers have during the past four years directed their attention. While the results did not justify convening this triennial as one body sitting in two houses, it has justified issuing a very complete statement of the form of this organization in all triennials subsequent to the present.

THE EXPANSION OF THE COUNCIL IDEA.

The fundamental elements in the "Council Idea" must never be lost sight of. The first is that a Council is not composed of individuals, but of societies; the second is that a Council does not seek to combine people of one mind, but it seeks to unite societies with different aims, objects and methods. Just as the National Council is composed of national organizations, so must every Local Council be composed of local organizations, and every State Council must be composed, not of Local Councils, but of State organizations.

To comprehend the character of such organizations as National Councils, State Councils and Local Councils, we must get the same point of view. From this point of view the National Council is approximately, and will eventually become absolutely and really, a republic of ideas; a republic composed of organizations representing the ideas and the interests of women. Inasmuch as the organization of the Council closely approximates the organization of the National Government, it may be said from this point of view that all national organizations of women, taken together, may be compared to all the territory comprising the United States. Just as within the United States there are three classes of domain, so within the National Council Idea there are three classes of national organizations. First, national organizations acknowledging no relation to the National Council, which may be

compared to that part of the public domain yet unorganized even under the territorial form of government; second, national organizations acknowledging the National Council and expressing their interest in it, and the possibility of ultimately desiring a closer relation to it by sending to its triennial sessions fraternal delegates. These may be compared to that part of the domain organized under territorial governments, which are represented in the United States Congress, not by Senators nor by regularly elected Representatives, but by Delegates. Third, national organizations which have duly entered the Council, each of which thereby forms an equal component part of the Council which has no existence only as it is constituted of these national organizations. Such national organizations may well be compared to the States that constitute the United States, outside of which, and independent of which, the United States can have no existence. Just as every State is represented in the upper house of Congress by two Senators, so every national organization within the Council will have in its upper house two representatives, its President and a delegate. Now in the organization of the National Council, Local Councils may be compared to Congressional districts, and in the lower house of the triennial sessions of the National Council each Local Council will have two representatives, its President and a delegate. But the ideal organization of the National Council must provide for the representation of State Councils; State Councils which, it must be borne in mind, are not composed of Local Councils, but of *State organizations of different kinds*. Inasmuch as the State Councils, composed of State organizations, occupy a kind of middle ground between Local Councils, composed of local organizations, and the National Council, composed of national organizations, so each State Council shall have one representative (its President) in the upper house at the triennial session of the National Council and one representative (a delegate) in the lower house. In that perfected organization all propositions pertaining to local work will originate in the Lower Council (or House); all measures passed there will be sent to the Upper Council (or House) for consideration, while all propositions relating to national work must originate in the Upper Council (or House), and when passed there must be sent to the Lower Council (or House) for consideration; while as State Councils are directly represented in both houses, propositions relating to State work may originate in either upper or lower house, being sent to the other for consideration. Thus no proposition or measure passed by either Council (or House) will be binding upon the National Council and become a part of its programme until such

measure is confirmed by the other Council (or House). Pending this complete and ideal organization of the National Council, the representatives of Local and State Councils have been invited to come to this triennial, prepared to introduce propositions relating to State and local matters respectively, while the representatives of national organizations have been invited to come prepared to introduce propositions relating to national work.

ELIGIBILITY TO OFFICE.

Some amendments to the constitution that have been proposed by the President and the Corresponding Secretary of the National Council look to a modification of that instrument which will make it fully adequate to the organization and work of the double house herein discussed. It may not be inappropriate for a retiring officer to express the view by which her own course has been controlled during her official career, and which, in her opinion, indicates the proper attitude of the head of the National Council. Inasmuch as the Council must hold itself to the impartial administration of its affairs; inasmuch as "it is organized in the interests of no one propaganda, and has no power over the organizations which constitute it, beyond that of suggestion and sympathy," it seems unwise that its President shall at the same time, while she holds that high office, remain as the President of any national organization, whether within or outside the National Council. At the same time that this is enunciated as a general principle, I must disclaim the possibility of its application to the first President of the National Council. It would have been impossible in 1888 to have given confidence to the public mind respecting the new venture in the line of organization with a woman less well equipped than Frances E. Willard for its President, and no woman so well equipped could have been found who was not at the head of some national organization. Reasons corresponding to those which made it impossible that any one but George Washington should have been chosen as the first President of the United States made it impossible that any one but Frances E. Willard should have been chosen as the first President of the National Council of Women of the United States. The growing feeling that a re-election of the President of the United States is unwise, the growing friendliness toward an amendment of the Constitution which would prohibit the President of the United States from being his own successor, has no bearing whatever on the universal feeling that it was wise that George Washington should have served a second term, that he should have been his own successor. So my conviction that the Council,

being started on its career, should hereafter by its constitution exclude its President-elect from continuing in the presidency of any national organization is based upon the same line of thought and of conviction which would make it go without saying that if a governor of a State were elected to the presidency of the United States he should retire from the governorship before entering upon the presidency. I may say in this connection that I have never thought it wise for the public to demand or to expect that a man who had occupied the highest office in the nation should, upon his retirement therefrom, be reduced, for fear of impairing the dignity acquired by official service, to "innocuous desuetude." A man who has held the presidency of the United States should not be the less but the more useful to his locality, his State, and perhaps the nation, for the experience. So what I have said in respect to the occupancy by the President of the National Council of the presidency of any national organization is applicable only during the time of such presidency.

WHAT MAY LOCAL COUNCILS DO.

I keep always in mind the fact which I presented above, that the National Council is the administrative agency of the republic of ideas occupied by women. I believe that through its triennial sessions, the opinions, convictions, sentiments, ideas and inspirations of women concerning all departments of life, including the administration of public affairs, should be expressed; that until women shall sit in the National Congress and with men legislate upon public affairs, the triennial sessions of the National Council have a direct and constant duty to the public in keeping before the United States Congress the woman's view. And just the stimulus, the spur, the enlightenment which the triennial sessions of the National Council should afford to the United States Congress, the annual and biennial sessions of the State Council held simultaneously with the regular sessions of the State Legislature at the capital of each State, should afford to each State Legislature. Again, just what such sessions of the State Council are to the General Assembly in each State, that the frequently recurring sessions of Local Councils should be to the frequently recurring sessions of municipal officials in every incorporated town.

THE WORK OF LOCAL COUNCILS.

The province of State and Local Councils may be indicated better by reference to what the Local Council of Indianapolis has actually done. I believe that the Local Council of Indianapolis has done less than certain other Local Councils, notably less than the Local Councils

of Minneapolis and Memphis, and I speak of it only because my acquaintance with it is so familiar that I may speak with knowledge and without exaggeration. From its organization the Local Council of Indianapolis has had a standing committee on municipal affairs. This committee introduced itself at once in the name of the Local Council (which represents a constituency of fifty local societies with an individual membership of eight thousand women) to the Common Council of the city of Indianapolis. It, with the knowledge and sympathy of the Common Council, investigated, and continues to observe the administration of all those parts of the city government which particularly affect women and children. The Local Council has also made itself known to the City Board of Health, and through it has brought petitions presenting the woman's view upon certain aspects of city sanitation. In the same manner it has obtained recognition from the Board of Public Works. One other result of the work of the municipal committee of the Local Council has been the establishment of a sanitary association with branches in every ward of the city, through which questions of cleanliness inside and outside of homes have been brought to the attention of women who have never thought upon those subjects before, and have shown women, poor and ignorant, that even they have a public duty in respect to the public health. The Local Council has also brought important bills before the General Assembly, one seeking to suppress the wine rooms, another seeking to reduce the fearful spread of the gambling spirit by the suppression of "slot machines," another providing for the appointment of both police matrons and jail matrons in every city of ten thousand, another having for its object a statute that will oblige a provision of medical attendance from practitioners of their own sex to women confined in asylums for the insane and for all other unfortunate classes. Perhaps, however, the most important step taken by the Local Council in its attempt to influence legislation is in a letter which it has presented to the General Assembly now in session, containing, first, a protest against the proposition to amend a bill pending respecting social purity, by changing the word "eighteen" to "sixteen" as the age of consent; and second, an appeal thus worded: "The Local Council, being not less interested in the virtue of young men than in the virtue of young women, appeals to the committee in charge of this bill to add thereto a second clause, making it a penal offense for a woman to solicit boys under the age of eighteen years."

The above brief and inadequate outline indicates the character of the work which may be done by a Local Council, and indicates that

such a Council may be a most effective medium for bringing the sentiment and opinion of women to bear upon public questions until the happy time arrives when indirect or meandering avenues for such opinion need no longer be sought.

THE COMPLETION OF THE MACHINERY OF ORGANIZATION.

The membership of each Local Council, varied as are the individual organizations of each locality; the membership of each State Council, varied as are the State aggregations of women; the National Council proper, comprising as large a range of objects as there are national organizations included within its membership, make it evident that in order that any administration may keep in touch with all these numerous lines and modes of work the head of the organization should be supported, strengthened and aided by an Advisory Board. To carry out the comparison between the National Council and the Government of the United States, the Advisory Board, herein recommended, may be compared to the Cabinet. The duty of each member of this Board would be to keep herself informed not only of the work of the world in general, but of the women of the United States in particular, along a special line; as, for instance, education, industry, religion, moral reform, philanthropy, charity, literature, science, art, and domestic life and the legislation affecting its conditions.

With such a board of advisors, or Cabinet, with each of whom the President of the National Council should be in constant correspondence, it would be quite possible to make the National Council a felt power, not merely during its triennial sessions, but during the intervals between its triennials as well.

It may be thought that all of the work which it is here contemplated to assign to a board of advisors can be carried on with equal success by standing committees. The recommendation herein made implies a difference between the work of a standing committee and the work of a member of the President's Cabinet; a difference not only in the subjects to which their work respectively relates, but a difference in its character and method.

First, the standing committees are elected at each triennial session to serve, like the general officers, during one administrative period. Each standing committee is organized to perform a certain distinct piece of work. Each standing committee reports to the annual executive session of the Council the progress of its work from year to year. This recommendation means that the President of the National Council

shall have the privilege of appointing her Cabinet. Each member of the Cabinet would report continually to the President her observations within the limits of the province assigned her. In this way the President of the National Council, constantly informed up to date in regard to all of the great fundamental questions, would be able, in her correspondence with the other general officers, to bring this accumulated information to bear upon public opinion, upon legislation, national, State, or local, through the agency of the general officers of the National Council and its standing committees, or through the agency of the general officers of the State Councils and Local Councils affiliated with the National and their respective standing committees, which it is herein recommended should, as nearly as possible, correspond to the standing committees of the National Council.

It seems quite as impossible that one woman occupying the position of President of the National Council should gather all the information necessary to a wise administration of her office in the departments above enumerated, as that one man should, as President of the United States, combine within himself the characters of his eight Cabinet officers, and perform their varied and exacting duties, in addition to his own. By a judicious selection of standing committees, and an equally careful and judicious selection of the Cabinet, the standing committees and the Cabinet combined might include one representative of every great line of work pursued by women through organized endeavor.

For the immediate present, and perhaps permanently, the most important place in this Cabinet would be that corresponding to the office of Secretary of State in the Cabinet of the United States President.

As has been above indicated, the Council Idea makes for the erasure of dividing lines and for the promotion of sympathy; and in its International form the Council Idea makes for the extinction of national prejudice and national selfishness. Of all the agencies looking to the establishment of permanent peace among the nations of the earth, none should be so powerful as the International Council of Women, rightly administered. If, within the Cabinet of every National Council, provision were made for an officer corresponding to our Secretary of State, these officers would constitute a committee on international relations, which would represent the largest constituencies of women in every nation. Their correspondence, which would abet sympathy and harmony, would be so powerful an inspiration to the growth of the spirit of international amity that a permanent International Board of Arbitration would be its inevitable result.

BEFORE CONSIDERING THE FUTURE OF THE COUNCIL, LET US CONSIDER
WHAT IT IS. AS TO RELIGION?

The Council as the Council is neither Jew nor Gentile; spiritually it is neither bond nor free, neither Protestant nor Catholic; it is neither evangelical nor liberal, but within its membership all of the beliefs indicated by these terms are represented; and on its platform every one of these beliefs may find an opportunity for either positive or negative expression.

AS TO POLITICS?

The Council as a Council is neither Republican nor Democratic, neither Populist nor Prohibition nor Mugwump; but again, within its membership are represented all the inclinations and the tendencies suggested by the nomenclature above cited.

Only one, strictly speaking, political organization of women has yet been formed. When women who sympathize with the Democratic party; women who, in political faith, are Populists; women who, in the division and equipoise of their political faith, are Mugwumps, shall be aggregated into national organizations, all will be just as welcome to an expression and an advocacy of their opinions on the Council platform as is the Woman's Republican Association at this time.

THE FUTURE OF THE COUNCIL.

The future of the Council must, like the future of every institution, depend upon the future of those who compose it, and correspond with their future. The future condition of women can be read only by those who read the present condition of women in connection with their past.

The most distinguished physiologists now assert that every atom in the human body is changed once in three months, though the authorities on this subject used to teach that such complete change was wrought in the human body only once in each seven years. However this may be, women who are alert to the signs of the times must be conscious that within the seven years that have elapsed since the organization of the permanent International Council of Women and the National Council of Women of the United States an almost complete transformation has been wrought. That the impulse to this was given by the great occasion out of which these two organizations were born, no one can doubt; and that this impulse itself has been strengthened by a hundred other new currents of influence with which it is consistent and harmonious, must likewise be unquestioned. In enumerating these

other currents of influence one cannot fail to refer with gratitude to the work of the Board of Lady Managers, who, the first to hold such exalted positions under the auspices of the United States Government, discharged their duties so well that the record of their work seems like a final refutation of every charge that the flippant world has been used to bring against women.

It is impossible in this connection, and as unnecessary as it is impossible, to give an outline of the work undertaken by the Board of Lady Managers, or the briefest sketch of the work done by them, as their original plan was modified from time to time by circumstances and by experience. To one feature of it only do I ask your attention, and that is its international feature. Nothing was more evident to the Board of Lady Managers than that the work of the women of the world could not be shown in the Columbian Exposition, if the work of American women only was collected. Hence, the foreign travel of Bertha Honoré Palmer and the foreign correspondence of the Board became a conscious impulse to the work of women and to the idea of associated work among women in all countries of the globe. Nor was the work of the Woman's Branch of the World's Congress Auxiliary in this respect less important and less universal in its influence; and among all the lessons taught by the exhibition of the products of woman's manual labor in the Columbian Exposition, and by the presence of foreign women in the World's Congress of Representative Women and in other congresses through the long series held under the auspices of the World's Congress Auxiliary, nothing was more valuable to American women than the opportunity thus afforded to get the foreign point of view in looking at their own achievements, and to shift their point of view to a more intelligent and sympathetic one in measuring the achievements of the women of other lands.

It is quite impossible that women in Siam, even, should ever feel again quite so humble, quite so subordinate, as before a Siamese woman was appointed by the king to represent her countrywomen in the Department Congress of the International Council at Chicago. Evidences of the growth of the self-respect of women and of the public respect for them are spread before our eyes in the issue of every daily paper, and in each issue of every magazine, large or small. To any student of history a fascinating interest attaches to the study of planting and product; of cause and effect. In our own country, when we consider the origin of the spirit of organization, the muse of history conducts us to Seneca Falls in August of 1848. It is not too much to say that without that meeting the Board of Lady Managers had never

existed ; that without that meeting the National Council of Women of the United States would have remained unborn. When we read the history of that meeting and consider how small it was in numbers, how little a thing it seemed balanced against the current world, the world of custom, of habit, of prejudice, of fixed belief, we know that its members must often have felt a fainting discouragement. When we look at the National Council as it is, so small it seems in numbers when compared with all whom we wish within its membership ; so insignificant it seems in influence when balanced against the forms of ignorance and injustice, to a continual conflict with which it is committed by its constitution, that the heart may sink and hope may fail. But when we look at the Board of Lady Managers, at the Woman's Branch of the World's Congress Auxiliary, at all national organizations of women outside the Council, at all national organizations of women within the Council ; when we contemplate the sublime spectacle presented during the past week at Convention Hall under the auspices of the World's Women's Christian Temperance Union, of which the National Women's Christian Temperance Union of the United States is so large a part, and when we see all of these as fruits of the planting of '48, and then look at ourselves and regard our work as a planting, we may take heart of courage, and may say with the consciousness that there is no arrogance in the claim and no exaggeration in the prophecy : we, the women of the National Council, are a power ; we, the women of the National Council, are a light ; we, the women of the National Council, are an inspiration ; and in the future a manhood united with a womanhood on a plane of moral purity higher and more exacting even than that hitherto demanded of women alone ; a womanhood united with a manhood on a plane of physical strength and intellectual culture greater than has hitherto been held as man's ideal, shall in the relatively perfect world, in which such men and such women shall live and move and have their happy being, look back to this date as to a planting and to us as sowers of good seed.

ADDRESS

BY

MAY WRIGHT SEWALL

President of the National Council of Women,

AT THE

CLOSING OF ITS SECOND TRIENNIAL,

MARCH 2, 1895.

I have a double novelty to present to you tonight, in introducing the officers elect of the National Council of Women of the United States, and in retiring with my colleagues from office.

Here at my right are five women who have become officers, never having been candidates for office. Here at my left (if I may count myself as at my left), are five women, who, having tasted the sweets of power for a term of four consecutive years, voluntarily relinquish it, and, against the most flattering inducement that the apparent spontaneous unanimity of their constituency could give, persistently decline re-election. We are too modest to think that women frequently do anything that men might well emulate, but we commend this spectacle to the country at large as something that might befit the nominating conventions of all its great parties.

Though not elected upon either political or theological lines, the present administration, it must be confessed, has been, in some quarters, regarded as radical. There is equally good ground for the belief that in some quarters the administration elect will be regarded as conservative. It has, however, been the province of the radical administration to bring into the Council conspicuously conservative bodies of women. It is hoped that the attraction of opposites will be illustrated through the success of the incoming administration in bringing into the Council bodies of women as conspicuously progressive.

We who relinquish office, with its attendant labors and success, are not unappreciative of the latter, nor are we disposed to exaggerate the former. Whatever we have done has been so little in comparison

with what we wished to do, that in this moment of retiring, our omissions are all that occupy my mind.

In transferring the conduct of the Council to other hands, we can say that coming to us with a membership of seven national organizations, we pass it on to you with a membership of twenty national organizations. Coming to us without a single Local Council established in the country, we pass it to you with ten Local Councils, three of which are actually affiliated, two of which have taken the initiative toward affiliation, and the other five of which have waited only to get the echoes of this meeting before coming into membership.

When we took up our labors in 1891, no means of individual membership had been devised. In the papers that will be placed in your hands will be found a list of eighty-seven Patrons. These Patrons represent by no means only the thousands of dollars secured which have been paid into the treasury through their fees, and expended in the work already done, but they stand for a body-guard of faithful, competent, critical, discriminating yet sympathetic advisers. They make, wherever our documents go, a body of reference for those who would inquire of the Council's work. Among the names of our Patrons can be found none which does not mean personal integrity, large-mindedness and aspiration, and on this list may be found many conspicuous for personal achievements for social position, for high official place. To name any might seem invidious, but I cannot forbear announcing that the man who knows the work of the National Council better than any other man has had an opportunity to know it, because he studied this work for months while preparations were going forward for the World's Congress of Representative Women, has honored the Council by giving adherence to it, by membership in it. I refer to the Honorable Charles C. Bonney, President of the World's Congress Auxiliary.

This enumeration of the difference between what we took into our hands and what we pass on from our hands to yours, might seem arrogant should I fail to call your attention to all that we have left undone for you to do. It was our ambition to bring into membership in the Council every national organization of women in the United States, now numbering sixty-five. It was our ambition to make our Patron list a Four Hundred unmatched in grace, in wisdom, in recognition of private claim and of public obligation by any other Four Hundred in the world.

It was our ambition to have formed in every city in the United States of over ten thousand inhabitants, a Local Council, and to have bound every Local Council to the National Council.

In telling you what it was our ambition to do, we show you the work that lies before you. We commend you to it without envy of the success that is sure to be yours, without jealousy of the more favorable auspices under which you assume your burden, but with abiding pledges (the simple sincerity of which we know you accept at their face value), of our constant sympathy, our unswerving loyalty, our continuous support in our respective spheres.

In opening the second triennial session of the National Council of Women of the United States, not quite two weeks ago, I stated my conviction that it was well worth while to re-read and ponder the preamble of the Constitution of the National Council, and the article of that instrument which states its general policy, as it is on recurring national holidays, to re-read and ponder the Declaration of Independence and the fundamental principles embodied in the Constitution of the United States.

In reviewing the work of the fortnight now drawing to a close, it seems to me that participants and observers alike, must find in it a confirmation of the statement that "This Council is organized in the interest of no one propaganda, and has no power over the organizations which constitute it, beyond that of suggestion and sympathy and that, therefore, no society voting to enter this Council shall thereby render itself liable to be interfered with in respect of its complete organic unity, independence, or methods of work, or be committed to any principle or method of any other society, or to any act or utterance of the Council itself, beyond compliance with the terms of this constitution."

To all who have "eyes to see," the triennial session just closing has presented the unusual spectacle of sessions of seventeen distinct bodies, interspersed with sessions of the National Council composed of all these bodies,—the identity of no one being confused with that of any other, subordinated to that of any other, or merged in that of any other.

Not only during the years between triennial sessions have the bodies belonging to the National Council been enabled to carry on their own work, by their own methods, under their respective constitutions, quite unhindered, and, indeed, unmodified by the methods and the Constitution of the National Council, but, if one may believe their own testimony, each organization has in the interval between triennial sessions found its own membership and its own influence augmented by its membership in the National Council.

Perhaps such variety of object and of method has never been displayed in any other series of meetings held under a common name. Evening after evening, morning after morning, audiences have left this hall saying to one another: "What a contrast in the views presented!" and again and again during the past days, in the intervals of sessions, I have been asked to explain how it is possible for women thinking so diversely on important themes, to work together. The fact that women, thinking differently, do work together in the Council, is proven by this question of strangers as it never could be by assertions and arguments of Council members.

If it is asked how the nominally evangelical Protestant Christian and the avowedly non-evangelical Protestant Christian can work together with the Catholic, and how the three can listen with enthusiasm to the Jew, the reason is found simply in the fact that in the evolution of liberty, we have gotten as far beyond reciprocal tolerance as reciprocal tolerance, in its day, was beyond the mutual persecutions which had preceded it.

It has been justly said on this platform that words are never made until after the thing which they name has been created. True as this is, it is equally true that words are usually made long before many outside the circle of inventors or of discoverers have become familiar with the thing. The word tolerance, which at one time indicated the largest interpretation of the phrase "freedom of conscience," was coined generations before the average mind had grown into a conception of its meaning. As soon as the average mind had grown into a conception of the meaning of tolerance, it found that the advanced mind had already rejected the word from its vocabulary, and had ceased to congratulate itself upon the attribute. The advanced mind had conceived, in place of tolerance, appreciation, sympathy and ability to take the other's point of view.

As the second triennial draws to a close, is there not an agreement among the observers of its proceedings, that in the Council tolerance is displaced by sympathy? An intelligent critic of the Council's proceedings asked me a few days since, "What does this Council mean?" To my reply, "The Council means mutual sympathy," the critic responded, "Ah, I am a little tired of sympathy. I do not think that we women need more sympathy with one another. I think what we need is more knowledge." Surely. To this proposition I readily agreed, criticising only the Council critic's definition of sympathy. What is termed by the critic "sympathy" was by Emerson denominated "a miserable mush of sentimentalism." Real sympathy must be based on

real knowledge and must increase in direct proportion to the increase of knowledge. The motto of one of our great modern philosophers is, "To know all, is to forgive all."

Every organization belonging to the Council expresses some phase of human need or of human appreciation of that need, and of the truth which will fill it; but what relation does each organization bear to the whole truth?

At intervals during the past fortnight I have caught what for many years has been to me one of the most beautiful and suggestive pictures that I know, namely, the view of the Capitol obtained by one who walks or drives about it. You are all acquainted with this promenade; and you have seen the beautiful dome shifting from end to end, from side to side, from corner to corner, as the point of view shifted, seeming to rest first over one and then over the other opposite section of the building, and only when one is so situated that one can see one part of the great building as well as any other part, and all parts equally well, does the dome seem to rise above and rest upon the centre. So the great dome of truth seems to rest above first one, then another and then an opposite proposition and conclusion; but moving ever with the mind that searches and apprehends, it is ultimately found not to dome any one view, any one conception, any one ideal.

It is hardly conceivable that any member of our numerous audiences does not belong to some one or more organizations. If our audiences have come to comprehend the Council's meaning, it will henceforth be their mission to use their influence in bringing into the Council the organizations to which they respectively belong. Minds, as well as bodies, grow by what they feed upon, and any mind that has apprehended the Council Idea, any mind that has a vision of what the Council Idea, applied locally, would do for her community; applied within the limits of her State, would do for the commonwealth; applied within the limits of her nation, would do for that nationality, has increased its compass by such study and such comprehension of a great ideal; while any mind that has comprehended what the Council Idea may ultimately mean to the world, in its international application, has grown to quite heroic stature.

One Council critic has said: "The Council seems to me like 'playing keep house' — it seems a mere makeshift — a sort of byplay for the entertainment of idly busy women who seek to find activity in man's domain. A Local Council seems like a make-believe municipal body — a State Council like a make-believe General Assembly — a National Council like a make-believe Congress."

Were the Council only a temporary means of increasing the powers of women in their present stage of development, it would still find ample excuse for being, and ample means for service; and as no better preparation for real housekeeping has ever been found than "playing keep house," so I believe that no better preparation for real participation in municipal, State and national legislation can be found than in the experience which comes through the application of the Council Idea to municipal, State and national service.

However, I believe not only that division of labor is, temporarily, a good thing, but that it will be a good thing for so long a time that it may, indeed, be regarded as permanently good. Always is a great word and its meaning quite unknown — therefore I hesitate to use it. I believe too, that thus far, evolution has emphasized, not diminished, the influence of sex. I believe that civilization emphasizes, not diminishes, that influence; that culture emphasizes the same quality, and that the higher one gets in the development of the race, the more pervasive, and the more important, because the more subtle, does one find the distinctions of thought, feeling, conviction and sentiment that arise from sex; and, therefore, so far as we can foresee, our vision cannot reach beyond the time when it will be proper that women shall have avenues of their own devising, under their own control, for bringing to bear upon the life of their time, the influence proceeding from what is innate in the ever womanly.

To my own vision, the Council Idea, important in its local and in its State applications, is more important in its national application, and to our nation, most important.

The extent of our country implies great geographical differences. These geographical differences, embracing extremes of climate, soil and corresponding differences of avocation, imply, too, among her citizens, great variety of temperament, and great variety of heart, and a consequent variety, if not, indeed, contradiction of thought and feeling.

It was not, originally, the institution of slavery which made a chasm between North and South. It was a difference of climate which made the institution of slavery profitable, and, therefore, popular, in one section; unprofitable, and, therefore, unpopular, in the other. Corresponding, although different antitheses of climate, soil and occupation between East and West, in our country, have, in proportion as the West has become developed, tended toward differences of object, opinion and feeling, and while these differences, for good reason, have not crystallized into any separating institution comparable to the insti-

tution of slavery, they have tended to separate the people of the East from those of the West.

It has been the province of men in the development of business and in the extension of railroads and of telegraph wires, first compelled by business, then resulting in greater business, to bind together the people of the different sections of the country; thereby bringing the inhabitants of all parts of the country to be consciously pecuniarily interested in the prosperity of all other parts.

Despite the unifying influences of business, looked at in a large way, there are such conflicts of business interests, when looked at narrowly, that East and West have been, in recent years, almost as hostile, politically, as North and South formerly were. To bind together such different elements in so large a domain, the subtlest force must be brought into action. The interests now largely in the hands of women, — the educational interests, the social life of communities, the dress, the philanthropies, the awakening intelligence regarding social and domestic economics, the work of women in connection with the churches — are all tending to bring into sympathy women of different sections of the country; and perhaps the largest patriotic work that can be conceived is not the work of the Grand Army of the Republic and of the Woman's Relief Corps, Auxiliary to the Grand Army. Fine as both are, they commend themselves to only one part of the Republic; but if, through the National Council, the Woman's Relief Corps, Auxiliary to the Grand Army of the Republic, can be brought into relations of mutual knowledge, and therefore of mutual sympathy with the Daughters of the Confederacy of the South, who, by their affiliation with churches, philanthropies, and church interests, are associated with Northern women, this will make for the upbuilding of a republic of common sympathy, common feeling, common interests, which will preserve inviolate for all, the National Republic.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS
BY
MARY LOWE DICKINSON,

President of the National Council of Women,

AT THE CLOSE OF ITS SECOND TRIENNIAL,

MARCH 2, 1895.

Madam President and Members of the Council:

In thinking of the possibilities of this Council of Women, I find my mind reverting constantly to that Congress of Representative Women that took place two years ago out yonder on the borders of Lake Michigan. We all remember that glittering expanse of water as it lay under the sunset glory, reminding one of the sea of glass, mingled with fire. And, strange as it may seem, there were times when, transfigured by sunlight, or lying pale and silent under the autumn noon, or made to burn and glow in lines of living fire, that White City seemed almost immortal.

“ Even as if the strong hands that upreared it,
With unseen and ever silent touches,
Swept away the dust of its decaying;
Till it stood so sacred in its whiteness,
So unsullied in its marble vesture,
That, methinks, Jerusalem the Golden,
Coming down from God with fair adorning,
Of her golden streets and walls of jasper,
Of her pearly gates swung wide forever,
Of her light, beyond the sun's clear shining,
Would not find this fair white place unworthy.”

Robbed of all poetry and fancy, that city became the Mecca towards which the world made pilgrimage,— the gathering place for the glory of the nations, and, for the time being, though *we* may not have

seen the swing of the over-weighted balance, or veiled our faces before the glory of the great white throne, it came to be the judgment hall for the world.

To humanity in its hurrying march through the ages, there went out a universal call to wheel into line and to pass in grand review, each nation before all the others, each in turn taking its place as judge and arbiter of all the rest. A call to such a review, through the Congress of Representative Women, went out to the womanhood of the world ; a call repeated since by the National Council to the womanhood of our land.

The revelation to be made in that White City was a revelation of human progress, and our mutual revealing is of the same character. The tests to be borne were tests of the value of all forces, material, intellectual and spiritual, as factors in the development of the race, and similar tests were our own. The prowess was not to be proven by the beauty of banners or glitter of weapons or skill of manœuvres — nay, not even by battle wounds and scars. Nothing counted then, and nothing counts now, save the proofs of actual contribution to human values by service to the children of men.

Entering the lists under these conditions, how grandly responsive was the world to that clarion call for review, let the answering armies tell, and how responsive to the Council's call is the womanhood of the world, let its thrilling records show. Before hundreds of thousands of spectators there passed, in that wonderful White City, the armaments and trophies of war, the higher victories of peace, the full-armed ranks of every science, battalion after battalion of human industries and arts, brigades of brain workers and armies of men and women who had put into service for civilization and humanity only the masterful toiling of the strong right hand.

Seen all together what a vision it made of the wonders God had wrought for man through man, a vision only surpassed by another,— of what may *yet* be, when that which is now begun is finished ; when that which is now in the dreams of the world's great souls shall be the reality of daily life ; when science has conquered citadels of knowledge where she now holds outposts ; when art shall have captured and prisoned the beauty which now allures and again eludes her grasp ; when the higher thought of today shall have crystallized in the higher deed of tomorrow ; and all that the revelations of the past have made to seem *possible* shall have become the living reality of progress and of power.

Grand as these outward possibilities seem ; fascinated as we are by the overwhelming sight of what has been placed before us along all

material lines ; touched as we are by what the eye has seen and the ear heard of the marvels of development and greatness in the past, it is yet in the things that eye hath not seen nor ear heard that there lies the highest significance and the truest greatness of our time.

Mighty factors as are action and achievement in the making of human history, there are silent spiritual forces that are mightier still. While material history has proven the power of the one, the Congresses of that great exposition and especially the Congress of Women, emphasized the other. And every future Council should be no less a great feast of ingathering of what men and women, too, have wrought by force of brain and brawn, but a testing time of all those higher spiritual forces by which both are linked to the Divine and thus enabled to draw strength for human achievements from the infinite riches of God.

Even more than a record of progress in outward and material things should our Council meetings be like a judgment day for those inward forces of motive and purpose, of intellectual and spiritual power, that have found in different nations and climes, and sects, and theories, and systems, each its own embodiment and expression.

Our Councils should be a time for each work in which our organizations are engaged to open itself out to the world, and to see itself in the light cast upon it by the calm gaze of critical or questioning eyes. As in the real judgment day, it should be a time of revelation,— when hidden things are revealed and secret things made known, when the chord of common aspiration and spiritual consciousness and sympathy, reaching from human soul to soul is set vibrating by a common touch, and each sect, and each faith and each system, each good work while it raises its own Ebenezer with its triumph song, “ Hitherto hath the Lord helped us,” yet does it with no envy that the same song floats from the neighboring heights where are encamped the champions of other faiths and other theories and other views.

Surely such a vision as this National Council opens to the world marks an era in the development of intellectual and spiritual truth. Accepting the same conditions, submitting to the same test,— that of actual elevating and spiritualizing power over the hearts and lives of the children of men,— that common standard of purpose and motive cannot fail to prove a mighty stimulant to every word and work that here opens itself to the light.

And if I might venture a more distinctly personal word, I would say to our membership that, glorify the Council Idea as we may, exalt our own organizations as we must in order to work for them as we would, yet all the power of the national organization and all the highest power

of the local organization goes back for its secret and source to the power and life in the individual soul. The problem of the highest good for the whole world together is the problem of the highest good for each human soul.

Our meetings are our great opportunity to see ourselves, our ideas, and our efforts as others see them. As we present our claim to honor in the work of our organizations by proving their power of service, let us not care too much for the rank of our own achievements in the world's progress Godward. Rather let our question be, how shall we live and act that our work may become, through what we can learn from every other work, a stronger power and a grander aid in the development of the race.

For my kind friends and future co-workers, as well as for myself, allow me to express our cordial appreciation of the honor you have conferred upon us in calling us to united service in the field of united interests represented by your National Council. Taken out of the ranks and placed in the advance guard, if we come not forth like Miriam, to the sound of the timbrel; if we lead not the host like Deborah, who led so well that afterward the land "took a rest for forty years," we yet, finding ourselves in the forefront of the hottest battle, must go forward, because you have called us to a place in your advance guard of laborers for humanity and of seekers after truth, and because *the truth keeps marching on*. Hoping to prove ourselves worthy of the confidence you have, by your action, given us, we will go on, armored by your trust, weaponed by the experience and wisdom and plans laid ready at our hands, and, better than all, encompassed by your heart sympathy and panoplied by your prayers. Only so compassed and strengthened would we dare to enter a field, that, like the kingdom of Zenobia, is "as broad as the genius that can devise and the power that can win."

In the development of your work during the earlier years of the Council, it became the province of one group of officers to dream and to outline their dream, of that great plan of organization that gives our Republic of Ideas its upper and lower house.

To the late administration it has been given, not only to develop these earlier plans, but to establish the fact of a Cabinet whose members shall each give her special attention to one or another of the grand divisions of the Council's work. And in the evolution of the Council Idea, it has come to this administration to mark its opening by a duty unique among women in any land, namely, to bring to her side, as co-workers and counselors from the nation's most noble women, those

who, even better equipped than herself for the battle, shall each stand at the head of her distinctive division of affairs, and each have her own part in the conduct of a campaign that means war with every type of evil and ultimate victory for every nobler form of good. Out of this warfare we believe there will come the triumph of every good word and work, of glorious peace,—right development for the childhood of the nation, a grander type of citizenship, a reality of freedom for women, union among women — aye, and men — and peace for all the world.

In accordance with my new duty I shall proceed to appoint these members of my Cabinet as early as is consistent with a proper selection of the best woman for each important position; but I would like, to-night, to mark the first hour of my new administration by the appointment of Mrs. May Wright Sewall, retiring President of the Council and Vice-President of the International Council of Women, the Secretary of the Department of Foreign Relations, assured that in so doing I am not only dealing wisely with our interests in foreign lands, but that I am giving back to the Council in another form the benefit of the experience and wisdom of this officer, with every assurance of our appreciation of her past service, and our personal sympathy with her future work.

ADDRESSES BY THE COUNTESS OF ABERDEEN AND BY THE
HON. CHARLES C. BONNEY.

The address of Hon. Charles C. Bonney, President of the World's Congress Auxiliary of the World's Columbian Exposition, delivered before the Second Triennial of the National Council on Feb. 22, 1895, and that of the Countess of Aberdeen, President of the International Council of Women, delivered at the closing of the triennial, March 2, 1895, as setting forth the Council Idea, the arguments upon which it rests, the work already accomplished by its expansion, and the results which may be legitimately expected from it, are of high intrinsic value, and the conspicuous positions of the Countess of Aberdeen and of Hon. Charles C. Bonney, the large experience that both have had in organization, and the universal high esteem in which both are held, give to opinions entertained by them large influence.

Therefore, although it is hoped that the full transactions of the second triennial may be printed ultimately, these two addresses will be brought out simultaneously with this volume, and may be had by application to the Corresponding Secretary.

CHAPTER XIII.

MINUTES OF THE MEETING
OF THE
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

(Condensed from the full notes of the Stenographer.)

HELD AT METZEROTT'S MUSIC HALL, WASHINGTON, FEBRUARY 20 AND 26,
AND MARCH 2, 1895, IN CONNECTION WITH THE SECOND TRIENNIAL.

Feb. 20, 1895, 10 o'clock A.M.

The meeting of the Executive Committee was called to order by the President, Mrs. May Wright Sewall, in the chair.

The President: "The first thing in order is to call upon the chairman of the Credentials Committee to read the names of the regular organizations belonging to the National Council, and to get response from President and delegate that we may know who is here. When Mrs. Avery, chairman of the Credentials Committee, calls the name of the organization with the name of its President and delegate, the ladies will please rise, each one giving her own name at the time. It is understood that the President of an organization belonging to the Council, if necessarily absent, may appoint a proxy; a delegate elected to represent an organization, or appointed by the general officers, or in whatever way she may be sent, must be here if the society be represented by delegate. If, however, a delegate appointed does not arrive, and the President of the organization is here, and feels herself clothed with authority to appoint another delegate in the absence of the first appointed, of course she has the right to do so."

The chairman of the Credentials Committee called the roll, requesting in the name of the Recording Secretary, that if ladies whose names are called and are not present, arrive later, their names shall be sent on a slip to the Secretary.

The President: "I appoint Mrs. Josephine R. Nichols as my proxy from the Local Council of Indianapolis, because I think it is hardly

compatible with my duties here that I should have to discharge the duties of a President of a Local Council."

The roll call was completed, the following persons eligible to the meeting being present, or arriving later :

Mrs. May Wright Sewall, President, Indianapolis, Ind. ; Mrs. Frances E. Bagley, Vice-President, Detroit, Mich. ; Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, Corresponding Secretary, Philadelphia, Pa. ; Mrs. Isabella Charles Davis, Recording Secretary, New York City ; Mrs. Lillian M. N. Stevens, Treasurer, Stroudwater, Me.

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

Miss Susan B. Anthony, President, Rochester, N.Y.

Miss Lucy E. Anthony, Delegate, Philadelphia, Pa.

NATIONAL WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION,

Mrs. Anna Fisher Beller, Proxy of President, Washington, D C.

Mrs. Clara C. Hoffman, Delegate, Kansas City, Mo.

NATIONAL FREE BAPTIST WOMAN'S MISSIONARY SOCIETY,

Mrs. Mary A. Davis, President, Arlington, R.I.

Mrs. Emeline Burlingame Cheney, Delegate, Lewiston, Me.

ILLINOIS INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL FOR GIRLS (National Charter),

Mrs. Emma R. Wallace, President, Chicago, Ill.

Mrs. Margaret Ray Wickins, Delegate, Chicago, Ill.

NATIONAL WOMAN'S RELIEF SOCIETY,

Mrs. Emmeline B. Wells, Proxy of President, Salt Lake City.

Dr. Ellis R. Shipp, Delegate, Lake Salt City, Utah.

WIMODAUGHSIS,

Mrs. Ruth G. D. Havens, President, Washington, D.C.

Miss Emma M. Gillett, Delegate, Washington, D. C.

YOUNG LADIES' NATIONAL MUTUAL IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION,

Mrs. Elmina S. Taylor, President, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Mrs. Minnie J. Snow, Delegate, Salt Lake City, Utah.

NATIONAL CHRISTIAN LEAGUE FOR THE PROMOTION OF SOCIAL PURITY,

Mrs. Elizabeth B. Grannis, President, New York City.

Mrs. Caroline B. Buell, Delegate, East Hampton, Conn.

UNIVERSAL PEACE UNION,

Mrs. Hannah J. Bailey, Proxy of Representative, Winthrop Centre, Me.

Mrs. Belva A. Lockwood, Delegate, Washington, D.C.

INTERNATIONAL KINDERGARTEN UNION,

Miss Sarah A. Stewart, Proxy of President, Philadelphia, Pa.

Mrs. Virginia E. Graeff, Delegate, Philadelphia, Pa.

WOMAN'S REPUBLICAN ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES,

Mrs. J. Ellen Foster, President, Washington, D.C.

Mrs. Emily S. Chace, Delegate, East Greenwich, R.I.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF LOYAL WOMEN OF AMERICAN LIBERTY,
Mrs. I. C. Manchester, President, Providence, R.I.
Mrs. Sarah D. LaFetra, Delegate, Washington, D.C.

WOMAN'S FOREIGN MISSIONARY UNION OF FRIENDS,
Mrs. Hannah J. Bailey, Delegate, Winthrop Centre, Me.

WOMAN'S RELIEF CORPS, AUXILIARY TO THE GRAND ARMY OF THE
REPUBLIC,
Mrs. Emma R. Wallace, National President, Chicago, Ill.
Mrs. Kate Brownlee Sherwood, Delegate, Canton, O.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF WOMEN STENOGRAPHERS,
Miss Netta G. McLaughlin, President, Chicago, Ill.
Miss Harriet A. Shinn, Delegate, Chicago, Ill.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN,
Mrs. Hannah G. Solomon, President, Chicago, Ill.
Miss Sadie American, Delegate, Chicago, Ill.

AMERICAN ANTI-VIVISECTION SOCIETY,
Mrs. Caroline Earle White, Representative, Philadelphia, Pa.
Mrs. Mary F. Lovell, Delegate, Bryn Mawr, Pa.

LOCAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF INDIANAPOLIS,
Mrs. Josephine R. Nichols, Proxy of President, Indianapolis, Ind

LOCAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF QUINCY,
Miss Cornelia A. Collins, Proxy of President, Quincy, Ill

LOCAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF PORTLAND,
Mrs. Gertrude Stevens Leavitt, Proxy of President, Portland, Me.

The Patrons who were in attendance and not credited in the above list are as follows: (Others may have been present but the Editor has no other names at hand.)

Patrons.

Mr. George W. Banker, Ausable Forks, N.Y.; Mrs. Henrietta M. Banker, Ausable Forks, N.Y.; Miss Clara Barton, Washington, D.C.; Mrs. Allaseba M. Bliss, Saginaw, Mich.; Mrs. Lucia Eames Blount, Georgetown, D.C.; Mrs. Isabella Bacon Bond, Boston, Mass.; Hon. Charles C. Bonney, Chicago, Ill.; Mrs. Jennette M. H. Bradley, Washington, D.C.; Mr. John Bryan, Cincinnati, O.; Mrs. Louise E. Demorest, New York, N.Y.; Mrs. Mary Lowe Dickinson, New York, N.Y.; Mrs. Ellen Battelle Dietrick, Cambridge, Mass.; Mrs. Anna Dormitzer, New York, N.Y.; Miss Sarah J. Eddy, Providence, R.I.; Mrs. Addie M. H. Ellis, Chicago, Ill.; Mrs. Elizabeth Cherry Haire, Cincinnati, O.; Mrs. Phoebe A. Hearst, Washington, D.C.; Mrs. Esther Herrman, New York, N.Y.; Miss Emily Howland, Sherwood, N.Y.; Rev. Ida C. Hultin, Moline, Ill.; Mrs. Gullelma M. S. P. Jones, Philadelphia, Pa.; Miss Isabel King, Goya, Argentine Republic; Miss Amanda M. Lougee, Boston, Mass.; Mrs. Clara L. McAdow,

Detroit, Mich.; Mrs. Sarah C. Mink, Watertown, N.Y.; Mrs. Louise Barnum Robbins, Adrian, Mich.; Rev. Anna Howard Shaw, Philadelphia, Pa.; Miss Nicolas M. Shaw, Philadelphia, Pa.; Lady Henry Somerset, Reigate, Surrey, England; Mr. Ephraim B. Stillings, Boston, Mass.; Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, Warren, O.; Mrs. Jenny Barnum Wyman, Detroit, Mich.

The President: "The question comes to the desk, 'What is the privilege of a Patron?'"

The President: "The Chair will state that the first privilege of a Patron is to pay one hundred dollars into the treasury of the National Council. That, however, may not necessarily be done all at once, and, if more agreeable to pay \$33.33 at one time, any one so desiring can take three years for becoming a Patron.

"A Patron has the privileges of all meetings; may propose subjects for discussion, may participate in the same, serve on any committee, standing or temporary, offer resolutions, suggest subjects for triennial programmes, in fact, may enjoy all the rights which the delegate body possesses, except that of voting.

"Any one desiring to become a Patron must be proposed by one of the general officers of the Council. At one of the recent executive sessions it was voted that the nomination of one of the general officers be accepted as the equivalent of an election. We wish it understood that we have never made the pecuniary need of the Council the test of patronship. We have never solicited the hundred dollars from one whose name was not as great a decoration to our roll as her patronship fee was a support to the treasury.

"If you will glance over the list of Patrons you will see it is a list of illustrious names — not all of them connected with public life, because one of the fundamental principles of women in public life is that the most lustrous lustre must be that which is kindled at the hearth within the radius of home. So the women on our Patron list and the men on our Patron list are men and women who stand for all that is noble, for all that is honorable, for all that is lovely, for all that is pure, for all that is of good report."

The President: "I see the Hon. Frederick Douglass has entered our door. We wish the privilege of asking Miss Susan B. Anthony, representing the regular voting force of the Council, and Rev. Anna Shaw, representing the non-voting force of the Council, to escort Frederick Douglass to the platform."

The President: "Now I am obliged to ask an embarrassing question. I wish to know if there are any reporters in this body who do not belong to some of the organizations regularly composing the Council."

The President: "Ladies and Gentlemen of the Council. It is with great pleasure and with a sense of honor that I present to you the Hon. Frederick Douglass." [Applause and waving of handkerchiefs.]

Mr. Douglass, declining to speak on account of its being a business session, was seated upon the platform and remained an interested listener.

The President: "I must refer to the subject of reporters. It is not intended that any reporters for the press shall be present. Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton is the chairman of the Committee on Press Work; it is her desire and ours that the largest facilities shall be given to all representatives of the press for getting information, but to these executive sessions no reporters are to be admitted. I trust that no one will take offense at this decision."

The President: "Before taking up the routine work of the session, I wish to make an announcement in regard to seating. If you will kindly remember where you are this morning — remember that the Presidents and delegates from every national organization belonging to the Council occupy the second and third rows of seats from the front; the representatives of Local Councils the fourth, and the Patrons the fifth — we hope that the Patrons will increase so that it will be necessary to reserve the seats for them clear back to the door — while all members of organizations belonging to the National Council are invited always to be present in business sessions as interested observers, and are asked to occupy the seats which are at the right of the platform; fraternal delegates, whom we wish to treat with the most cordial courtesy, are asked to be witnesses of the business proceedings of our meetings, and are asked to take seats at the left of the platform. It is the wish of the Council that the fraternal delegates from the Canadian Council sit with the officers of the National Council upon the platform, and they are cordially invited to do so."

The President: "I wish to remind you that 'The Historical Résumé of the Congress of Representative Women' is on sale in the Bureau of Information, and you will have an opportunity to see the actual form of the book, which is an advantage. The publishers give forty per cent of the price of every book sold to the treasury of the Council; therefore, in purchasing the book, you will not only be purchasing the means of informing yourself concerning the scope of the International Council work in what was really the first quinquennial Council, but also will give yourselves the pleasure of helping to fill our treasury."

Mrs. Bagley: "I wish to say one word to the ladies in regard to 'The Historical Résumé of the Congress of Representative Women.' I am sure the ladies have only to see the work to realize its value. It is complete, having been ably and scholarly edited by our President. I can hardly think of a woman who ought not to have it in her library. It should be in every house in America, in every library and club as a book of reference. I consider it as of the greatest value."

The President: "I feel that it is necessary for me to say a few words. The Chair did not know at all the subject of Mrs. Bagley's remarks, and also I wish to say the Chair has no pecuniary interest in the sale of the book — none whatever. I fear that my interest in having it bought might imply my pecuniary interest. Whatever pecuniary interest I had in the book was settled with the publishers long ago. I have only the desire to have the book go into the hands of as many women as possible."

Mrs. Sherwood: "Will you permit me one word in addition to what Mrs. Bagley has said? I feel that this book should not only be in your personal possession, but in the hands of your friends and neighbors. Rand & McNally are very anxious to secure women to handle this work, and I feel that the best work that our women could do would be to send to Rand & McNally for circulars and then secure good women in the towns and cities where they live to place this book. It would be selling something that is in the direct line of woman's work. It is the most marvelous work that has been done in our day and generation. It includes every nationality and all faiths, all religion and no faiths — if I may call it so. It is universal in its scope, and I hope that the women of the Council will do all they can to place this book."

The minutes of the Executive Committee meeting held in Philadelphia May 7 and 8, 1894, were read by the Recording Secretary, and with the following correction stood approved as read: in Treasurer's report, "for clerical help for President's and Secretary's office."

The Treasurer's report being called for, the Treasurer spoke as follows: "I beg leave to ask for an extension of time. I do this for the reason that if I were compelled to give it now it would be too much like the report presented last May, which has been read in your presence. I hope by not being compelled to make it at this time to make a better report on the right side. How is this to come about? I intended saying something about Patrons, but the President has so well expressed all that I could have said that I will only add, that by not being obliged to report this morning I shall have one more Patron

to report this afternoon, and we hope that enough more will be added to make at least one hundred in number. Another provision is by gifts, and if there is any woman or man who does not wish to become a Patron, and yet would like to help the Council, will you not solicit them in regard to this interest? And we hope before the final report that some of the fraternal delegates will say that their society is going to enter the Council. These are the three ways in which the Treasurer hopes to make a better report to the next business meeting than she can at this time, and, therefore, she asks for an extension of time."

On motion of Mrs. Nichols, seconded by Mrs. Hoffman, extension of time was granted the Treasurer.

The President: "There is one point in the minutes read this morning that must be explained. You heard that the general officers were instructed, in correspondence with the Committee on Dress, to offer a prize for the best dress that should be presented before this meeting. It was impossible for the general officers to carry out the instruction because of the condition of the treasury. It implied the necessity of money. Such work as that of the National Council has not been carried on without the use of thousands of dollars, and the officers carrying on the work were not able to advance more than they were advancing, and could not, therefore, offer the prize for improved dress."

Upon inquiry of Mrs. J. Ellen Foster as to what business was to come up, the President said: "Important amendments to the constitution, sent in by various members of the Council, and sent out three months ago to the voting members of the Council, are to be acted upon, and the President hopes that the recommendations made in her address will also be acted upon by the Council in business session. Resolutions will also be reported and acted upon.

"Our standing committees will not report to these executive sessions, as is the custom at the business meetings between the triennials. Each committee has a public session on the triennial programme, when a report will be made which will be open to discussion."

Mrs. Foster: "In regard to the amendments proposed to the constitution, is it the opinion of the Chair that any proposed amendment can be modified at this meeting?"

The President: "It is the opinion of the Chair that when the amendments, which, according to the requirements of the constitution, were sent out to the voting members of the body three months prior to the triennial meeting, are taken up, they can be amended like any other amendment."

Mrs. Foster: "That is in line with my own thought, inasmuch as some of the amendments are very sweeping in their provisions and need to be amended."

On motion of Miss Susan B. Anthony, seconded by Mrs. Foster, the election of officers was set for Tuesday morning, the 26th.

Moved by Mrs. Cheney, seconded by Mrs. Manchester, that when we adjourn we adjourn to meet at four o'clock, to take up the proposed amendments to the constitution. [Carried.]

Adjourned.

Feb. 20, 1895, 4 o'clock P.M.

The President in the chair, the meeting came to order.

The President: "I have a telegram which will excite pleasure and enthusiasm; it is from Rev. Francis Wayland, the son of the abolitionist of 1833."

The Secretary read the telegram.

The President: "When one remembers the position which Rev. Francis Wayland holds in a large and conservative denomination of Christians, and when one bears in mind the part he has borne in the forward movements of the country, this telegram comes with greater force, and is a source of great congratulation to the Council."

The President: "One of the natural results of allowing man and woman to work together is the great basket of roses which you see here. It was sent up by our Patron, Mr. Bryan of Cincinnati, with the request that when the meeting adjourned each member should have a rose."

On motion of Mrs. Stevens, a rising vote of thanks was extended to Mr. Bryan for his courtesy.

Amendments to the constitution were presented and taken up *seriatim*. The afternoon was consumed in discussing and adopting a number of the amendments, when the meeting adjourned.

Feb. 26, 1895, 10 o'clock A.M.

The meeting was called to order by the President.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read, corrected and approved.

The President: "The first business will be the continuation of the consideration of the amendments to the constitution."

Most of the morning was consumed in the deliberations upon the constitution, which was amended to stand as follows :

CONSTITUTION OF THE
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF THE UNITED STATES
ORGANIZED AT WASHINGTON, D.C., MARCH 31, 1888.
(As amended at the Second Triennial, February, 1895.)

PREAMBLE.

We, women of the United States, sincerely believing that the best good of our homes and nation will be advanced by our own greater unity of thought, sympathy and purpose, and that an organized movement of women will best conserve the highest good of the family and the State, do hereby unite ourselves in a confederation of workers committed to the overthrow of all forms of ignorance and injustice, and to the application of the Golden Rule to society, custom and law.

That we may more successfully prosecute the work, we adopt the following

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.

Name.

This federation shall be called the National Council of Women of the United States.

ARTICLE II

General Policy.

This Council is organized in the interest of no one propaganda, and has no power over the organizations which constitute it, beyond that of suggestion and sympathy; therefore, no organization voting to enter this Council shall thereby render itself liable to be interfered with in respect to its complete organic unity, independence, or methods of work, or be committed to any principle or method of any other organization or to any act or utterance of the Council itself, beyond compliance with the terms of this constitution.

ARTICLE III.

Officers.

SECTION 1. The officers shall be a President, a Vice-President-at-Large, a Corresponding Secretary, a First Recording Secretary, a Second Recording Secretary and a Treasurer. Each President of an organization or of a State Council belonging to the Council shall be *ex officio* Vice-President of the National Council, and the President of the National Council shall be *ex officio* Vice-President of the International Council.

SECTION 2. The six general officers with the *ex officio* Vice-Presidents, or their proxies, one delegate from each organization of natural scope or value, and the Presidents of State Councils or their proxies, shall constitute an executive committee, of which nine members shall make a quorum, to control the Council and provide for its general interests.

SECTION 3. The President of the National Council shall not be eligible to re-election for a second consecutive term of office, nor shall the President of any national organization be at the same time President of the National Council.

SECTION 4. The election of the general officers shall take place at a joint business session of the Upper and Lower Councils, only the following named persons voting thereupon: The general officers of the Council, Presidents and delegates of organizations of national scope or value, Presidents of State Councils and Presidents of Local Councils. The nomination shall be by informal ballot, and the three persons having the highest number of votes for any office shall be declared the candidates, and the will of the Council shall be taken by a formal ballot.

ARTICLE IV.

Members.

SECTION 1. Any organization of women, the nature of whose work is satisfactory to the Executive Committee, either as to its undoubtedly national character or national value, may become a member of this Council by its own vote and by the triennial payment of one hundred dollars into the treasury of the National Council not later than three months prior to its triennial meetings.

SECTION 2. The women of any national organization composed of both men and women may associate themselves together within said national organization, and may connect themselves with this Council by electing a woman to represent them on the Executive Committee of the Council, and by the payment of the regular triennial fee into its treasury.

SECTION 3. Any State Council of Women, organized under a constitution harmonious with that of the National Council, may become a member of this Council by its own vote, and the triennial payment of sixty dollars into the treasury of the National Council not later than three months prior to its triennial meetings.

SECTION 4. Any Local Council of Women, organized under a constitution harmonious with that of the National Council, may become a member of this Council by its own vote and the triennial payment of twenty-four dollars into the treasury of the National Council not later than three months prior to its triennial meetings.

ARTICLE V.

Meetings.

SECTION 1. The National Council shall hold triennial public meetings.

SECTION 2. At its public triennials the National Council shall sit as a body, composed of two parts — an Upper Council and a Lower Council.

SECTION 3. The voting members of the Upper Council shall be (a) the President and delegate of each national organization; (b) the President of each State Council, and (c) the following general officers: the President, the Treasurer, the Corresponding Secretary and the First Recording Secretary.

SECTION 4. The voting members of the Lower Council shall be (a) the delegates of State Councils; (b) the Presidents and delegates of Local Coun-

cils, and (c) the Vice-President-at-Large and the Second Recording Secretary of the National Council.

SECTION 5. The President of the National Council shall preside over the sessions of the Upper House and over any joint meetings of the two Councils. The Vice-President-at-Large shall preside over the sessions of the Lower Council. In the event of the absence of the Vice-President-at-Large the Lower Council shall elect its presiding officer.

SECTION 6. The Patrons of the National Council shall be eligible to either the Upper or Lower Council, as each may elect, at any triennial session, with power to discuss questions and to serve on all committees, but without a vote.

SECTION 7. The chairmen of all standing committees of this Council or their proxies shall be eligible to the Upper Council, with power to discuss and to serve on all committees, but without a vote.

SECTION 8. The Committee of Arrangements for the triennials shall be composed of the Executive Committee and the Presidents of the Local Councils, or their proxies.

SECTION 9. The Executive Committee shall hold an annual business meeting at such time and place as the general officers shall determine.

ARTICLE VI.

Amendments.

This constitution may be altered or amended by a majority vote of the Council at any triennial meeting, printed notice thereof having been sent to each member of the Executive Committee at least three months prior to such meeting.

The following suggestion to be discussed, but not offered as an amendment to the constitution, was taken up :

The propriety of considering the main lines of work now occupying the public mind, and of allowing each President of the National Council to constitute what may be called her board of private advisors, or her Cabinet, each member of this Board being appointed to keep in touch with the work of the world along a special line, as, for instance, Education, Legislation Affecting Domestic Life, Industry, Religion, Moral Reforms, Philanthropy, Charity, Literature, Science, Art., etc.

On motion of Miss Anthony, seconded by the Recording Secretary, the following was adopted :

Resolved, That the general officers be empowered to create a Cabinet for the President of the National Council of Women, the portfolios to be decided on by the general officers, and the appointments to be made by the President.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS.

On motion of Patron Anna Howard Shaw, it was voted to proceed with the election of officers, in accordance with the plan embodied in the constitution as now revised..

The President appointed the following tellers:

MRS. I. C. MANCHESTER, President of the Loyal Women of American Liberty.

MISS SADIE AMERICAN, Delegate of the National Council of Jewish Women.

MRS. ANNA F. BEILER, Proxy of the President of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

MRS. JOSEPHINE R. NICHOLS, Proxy of the President of the Local Council of Women of Indianapolis.

The chairman of the Credentials Committee called the roll, after which an informal ballot was ordered for the office of President.

Mrs. Kate Brownlee Sherwood secured the floor and said: "I want to nominate for President the woman who has the entire confidence of the Council, and the entire confidence of the men and women of America, and the two continents, and I want to ask that we rise and express that she would be our first choice, if we were permitted to choose, and I now move that we rise and so express it. The name of my woman is Mrs. May Wright Sewall."

At once the members arose *en masse* and, by prolonged applause and the waving of handkerchiefs, evinced their appreciation of this expression of confidence.

Mrs. Sewall: "Ladies, I can only say that by the expression of such unanimity and kindness I am touched to tears." [Applause.]

The election proceeding resulted in the following named persons being elected as

GENERAL OFFICERS OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN.

MARY LOWE DICKINSON, *President* New York City.
 REV ANNA HOWARD SHAW, *Vice-President-at-Large* . . Philadelphia, Pa
 LOUISE BARNUM ROBBINS, *Corresponding Secretary* . . Adrian, Mich.
 EMELINE BURLINGAME CHENEY, *First Recording Secretary*, Lewiston, Me.
 HELEN FINLAY BRISTOL, *Second Recording Secretary* . Quincy, Ill.
 HANNAH J. BAILEY, *Treasurer* Winthrop Centre, Me.

And they were declared to be the duly elected general officers of the National Council of Women of the United States for the ensuing triennial term, and until their successors shall be duly elected and inducted into office.

After the election of Mary Lowe Dickinson as President, the Chair appointed Patrons Rev. Anna H. Shaw and Sarah C. Mink to wait upon

Mrs. Dickinson and apprise her of her election and bring her to the meeting.

The President-elect upon entering, was greeted by the Council rising and by continued applause.

The President: "The Chair takes great pleasure in presenting to you your President-elect, Mary Lowe Dickinson."

Mrs. Dickinson: "The President tells me that I may act my own pleasure as to saying a word to you with reference to this honor that you have been so good as to confer upon me. Now, it seems to me if we are to live together three years, you will probably hear as much or more from me as you will care to hear, without my detaining you at this time, when I know that every hungry member is longing for something beside words, however wise or eloquent they might be. But I have no wisdom; I have no eloquence to express commensurately my feelings at this hour. Words are not for moments like this. But I have in the deepest depth of my heart, a profound sense of the honor you have conferred upon me; a profound sense of the confidence — not in me personally, but in the everlasting principles we are all trying to exemplify. The road has all been laid out before the woman who takes this chair for the next three years. That would be a daring woman surely, who would venture to enter upon this work if it had not with it and in it, the hearts of every one of you; if it had not behind it a wisdom and grandeur of thought and plan that has made for us an outline and put up for an inscription: 'This is the way; walk ye in it.' If it had not such women as are in it; if it had not these noble officers and this President behind it; if it had not God over it, I would not dare to touch it at all. Realizing fully that it is an exalted office to which you have called me, and appreciating the confidence you have reposed in me, I can only promise to do my best to prove myself worthy of this high trust and to advance the interests of the Council."

Each of the other officers-elect, excepting Mrs. Bristol, who was absent, was escorted to the platform and presented to the Council, briefly pledging herself to the duties of her office and thanking the Council for the honor conferred.

It was moved by the Treasurer that her report be given at the last meeting of the Executive Committee, and that an auditing committee be appointed by the Chair to receive and close her books. [Carried.]

Mrs. Bagley presented the cordial greetings of Miss Kate Field, and her regrets that she was unable to attend.

A telegram from the Local Council of Women of Quincy, Ill., was read as follows:

We, the Quincy Council of Women, send greetings. Our eyes are upon you and our hearts are with you.

HELEN F. BRISTOL,
President Local Council of Women of Quincy.

Adjourned.

THIRD SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK A.M., MARCH 2, 1895.

The meeting was called to order by the Vice-President, Mrs. Frances E. Bagley, who asked unanimous consent for Mrs. Kate Waller Barrett, of the Florence Crittenton Missions, to address the meeting, which was granted, and the latter spoke at length on the work of the society she represented.

The President took the chair and announced that the Florence Crittenton Missions had been received for membership in the Council, the application having been made to the general officers and accepted.

On motion of Mrs. LaFetra, seconded by Mrs. Nichols, the action of the general officers in receiving the Florence Crittenton Missions to membership was indorsed.

Mrs. J. Ellen Foster inquired if it was necessary and usual that the whole body indorse such action of the general officers.

The President: "In the interim of meetings the acceptance of an organization into the Council is dependent solely on the action of the general officers, but when we are present in triennial session and have invited the representatives of the organization being admitted to appear on the platform and present the claims of her organization, it seems only courtesy that the body, as a whole, act upon it. A rule was adopted at the first triennial that in the interim of meetings organizations should be received by the general officers, just as a rule was adopted at one of the executive committee meetings held in Chicago, that the general officers should receive Patrons."

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary moved, seconded by Mrs. Mary S. Lockwood, delegate of the Universal Peace Union, that those members of the Committee on Resolutions not otherwise belonging to the working force of the Council, be permitted to participate in the discussion of the resolutions. [Carried.]

On motion of Mrs. Hannah J. Bailey, the report of the Treasurer was called to be presented prior to the consideration of the resolutions.

The President called upon the Recording Secretary to read a letter from the delegate sent to the Council from the National League of Catholic Women, which was as follows :

Mrs. MAY WRIGHT SEWALL, *Honorable President National Council of Women of the United States.*

Madam : I have the honor to be appointed delegate from the Catholic Women's National League of America to the Second Triennial Session of the National Council of Women, about being held at Washington.

I am directed to make this expression of fraternal goodwill toward the Council, on the part of our President, Alice C. Toomey, and the members of the League I represent, which number many thousand members, whose object is "the federation into a united body of all the societies of Catholic women doing any kind of helpful work along philanthropic, educational or benevolent lines," and whose motto is "For God and humanity."

I have, madam, the honor to be with these fraternal greetings.

Very respectfully yours,

OLIVE RISLEY SEWARD,

Delegate, etc.

The President : "The Chair deeply regrets that she has not had the pleasure of receiving the fraternal delegate from the National League of Catholic Women, and the Chair believes that in speaking she expresses the sentiment of the entire Council when she says the National League of Catholic Women would have been warmly welcomed."

The President called for the report of the Treasurer, which was duly presented as follows :

LILLIAN M. N. STEVENS, TREASURER, *in account with* NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF THE UNITED STATES.

1893.

Dr.

May 7. To balance on hand when audited account was

accepted	\$ 98
Cash received, Patron fees	1,273 33
Cash received, gifts	594 25
Cash received, membership fees, societies	715 67
Cash received, Triennial Meeting, 1895, sale of tickets, badges, collections, etc.	500 87
Total	\$3,085 10

Cr.

By cash paid, account of : —

Metzerott's Music Hall bills, Triennial, 1895,	\$722 00
Alfred Ferris, printing, etc.	370 75
Amount carried forward	\$1,092 75

<i>Amount brought forward</i>	\$1,092 75
Programmes	100 00
Miscellaneous bills, stenographic help, etc.	250 14
May Wright Sewall, money advanced for clerical help, postage, etc.	286 00
Rachel Foster Avery, money advanced for clerical help, postage, etc.	1,167 10
Balance on hand, March 2, 1895	189 11
	<u>\$3,085 10</u>

Respectfully submitted,

LILLIAN M. N. STEVENS,
Treasurer.

The President: "We will now listen to the report of the auditors."

Mrs. LaFetra presented the following:

WASHINGTON, March 2, 1895.

We have examined the accounts and vouchers of the Treasurer of the National Council of Women of the United States and find them correct; and the balance on hand is \$189.11.

SARAH D. LAFETRA,
EDITH E. LIBBY,
Auditors.

The Treasurer: "There are a large number of outstanding bills — you remember there was a large number of them at the close of the Congress of Representative Women, and a large amount was advanced by the President and Corresponding Secretary. We have also some assets; we have Patron pledges, which are as good as money in the bank; and so while we have some outstanding bills, we have some assets, and the Treasurer would like time to place them in the list."

On motion of Mrs. Mary S. Lockwood the Treasurer was granted further time.

Subsequently the Treasurer submitted her final report to her successor as follows:

LILLIAN M. N. STEVENS, Ex-TREASURER, *in account with* NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF THE UNITED STATES.

1895.

Dr.

March 2. To balance on hand when audited account was accepted	\$189 11
Cash received, Patron fees	1,235 00
<i>Amount carried forward</i>	<u>\$1,424 11</u>

<i>Amount brought forward</i>	. . . . .	\$1,424 11
Cash received, gifts	. . . . .	369 60
Local Council dues	. . . . .	12 00
Cash sale of tickets, transactions, programmes, box-office receipts, etc., Metzertott's Music Hall, Triennial Meeting, 1895	. . . . .	831 06
		<u>\$2,636 77</u>

Cr.

By cash paid, account of:—

Rent, Metzertott's Music Hall, printing, ad- vertising, travelling and hotel expenses of officers and clerks, etc., on account of Triennial Meeting, 1895	. . . . .	\$1,690 73
May Wright Sewall, money advanced to the Council for clerical help, etc.	. . . . .	462 00
Rachel Foster Avery, money advanced to the Council for clerical help, etc.	. . . . .	100 00
Grace G. Green (clerk)	. . . . .	187 00
Nicolas M. Shaw (secretary)	. . . . .	185 00
Balance on hand, May 27, 1895	. . . . .	12 04
		<u>\$2,636 77</u>

Respectfully submitted,

LILLIAN M. N. STEVENS,

Ex-Treasurer N.C.W.

This statement corresponds with correct book account.

May 27, 1895.

EDITH E LIBBY,

Auditor.

On motion of Miss Lucy E. Anthony, the reports of the Treasurer and of the auditors were adopted.

On motion of Rev. Anna H. Shaw, seconded by Mrs. Wallace, it was voted to receive the report of the Committee on Resolutions and to proceed to the consideration of the same.

On motion of Miss Anthony, seconded by Mrs. Nichols, it was voted to consider the resolutions *seriatim*.

Mrs. Lillian M. N. Stevens, chairman of Committee on Resolutions, submitted the report of which printed copies were distributed.

Pending the discussion of the resolutions, an adjournment was taken until 2.30 P.M., when the meeting reconvened and discussion was re-

sumed on the resolutions, which were discussed and adopted *seriatim* and as a whole as follows:

RESOLUTIONS.

ADOPTED AT THE EXECUTIVE SESSION OF THE SECOND TRIENNIAL,

MARCH 2, 1895.

WE, the National Council of Women of the United States, organized in the interest of no one propaganda, and having no power over the organizations which constitute the Council, beyond that of suggestion and sympathy, having learned that the best good of our homes and our nation is advanced by our unity of thought and purpose, and that an organized movement of women best conserves the highest good of the family and the State, banded in a federation of workers committed to the overthrow of all forms of ignorance and injustice, and to the application of the Golden Rule to society, custom and law, do hereby resolve:

PROGRESS OF WOMEN.

WHEREAS, The years since the last session of the National Council of Women of the United States have opened many avenues to woman's industry; have made many changes in law and custom in her favor; have witnessed the grand spectacle of women participating in the Columbian Exposition in an official capacity and endowed by the United States Government with equality of power and responsibility; have demonstrated the growing tendency in all denominations toward the proper recognition of women in their representation in the Parliament of Religions, and have shown us that the advanced and truly learned thinkers of all faiths and lands agree that there is nothing in the spirit and essence of their religions which necessitates woman's degradation or indicates her divinely appointed inferiority; have been marked by a marvelous growth of organization among women for educational, reform and philanthropic purposes, binding all classes and climes together with cords of love for harmonious action, and finding its most perfect exponent in that magnificent gathering, the Congress of Representative Women, and finally, have brought to women the full recognition of their rights as citizens in one of our great States and in two most important divisions of the British Empire; therefore

Resolved, That we rejoice in these evidences of the advancement of woman and the race and see in them the bright forecast of the time when the last restriction which exists in society, in the church and in the State, to prevent woman from the full exercise of all her powers for the best good of humanity, will be eradicated from custom, creed and statute.

CAPITAL AND LABOR.

WHEREAS, The ethical adjustment of the relations between capital and labor is a serious problem, as evidenced by the increasing frequency of strikes and demonstrations accompanied by disorder and resulting in incalculable loss and suffering; and

WHEREAS, Labor and capital have no natural and permanent diversity of interests, and all conflicts between these industrial factors are the result of artificial conditions, equally at variance with the spirit of our republican institutions and of the Golden Rule; therefore

Resolved, That recognizing the fact that selfishness is social disintegration and believing it to be the duty of every patriotic citizen to give serious and candid attention to the questions involved in economic conditions, and to use all possible personal influence to establish society upon a basis of love and fraternity, we, the Council, urge that co-operation, instead of competition, should be adopted as the standard to which industrial relations should be brought. As an immediate remedial measure, we urge that all disputes between capital and labor be referred to National, State, or voluntary tribunals of conciliation and arbitration, and that the whole strength of public opinion be brought to bear to compel such reference and the acceptance of the decision.

INDUSTRY.

Resolved, Since justice requires that in all departments of service, efficiency and not sex shall be considered, we demand that the United States Government shall set the standard for the country by paying its employees equal wages for equal work, and by holding women equally eligible for all competitive examinations, and for employment and promotion.

EDUCATION.

Resolved, That in the best interests of education and as a matter of justice, we ask that women as well as men shall be elected or appointed on all school boards in the several States and Territories. We earnestly favor the establishment at the Nation's Capital of a National University for post-graduate study, open alike to men and women, and that women also shall be appointed on the regularly constituted Board of Control. We heartily endorse the effort to give the youth of the country scientific temperance instruction in the public schools. Since a simultaneous training of the child's hand and brain is demanded for its harmonious development, we earnestly request all School Boards in the United States to adopt the kindergarten method, and to combine manual with mental training as a fundamental part of our public school system.

DRESS REFORM.

Resolved, Since woman's dress should be healthful, should be beautiful in its conformity to the principles of art and nature, and should leave her a free and untrammelled factor in the world's progress, we commend to the serious attention of women the various designs already evolved which meet these requirements.

MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE.

Resolved, Since great suffering and injustice arise from there being in the various States of our country different laws governing marriage and divorce, we urge such legislation, State and national, as shall secure uniformity in this respect; and since both sexes are equally concerned in the adjustment of these relations, we demand that in all commissions created to deal with those questions women be appointed to act co-ordinately with men.

PHILANTHROPY.

Resolved, That as unjust laws are still in force in some of the States relating to the personal and property rights of women, we respectfully ask our countrywomen to investigate State and National laws and to recommend such amendments as shall give to all women justice and equity, and we urge the appointment of women on boards of management of all correctional and charitable institutions. We rejoice in all organizations and missions advocating an equal standard of purity for men and women and working for the rescue of erring girls from a life of sin. We ask our own and all nations to investigate causes of intemperance and to enact legislative remedies for the evils resulting therefrom. We oppose all forms of cruelty, and advocate education in humane principles and the abolition of the practice of vivisection.

ARBITRATION.

Believing that the time has come in the progress of the race when all difficulties between civilized nations should be settled without resort to arms, we rejoice that the United States Government has invited the nations of the civilized world to unite in a permanent treaty of arbitration, and that Great Britain has taken steps looking to the adoption of such a treaty; and

It is the opinion of this body that a permanent National Board of Peace and Arbitration should be added to our government, and we respectfully suggest that a Peace Commission composed of men and women shall be appointed and provided for to confer with the governments of other nations upon the subject of establishing an International Court of Arbitration.

RELIGION.

Resolved, That we rejoice in the growing unity between persons of different religious beliefs, as evidenced in their union in work, humanitarian, philanthropic and reformatory.

We protest against persecution of any people on account of religious belief or of unbelief, or because of race or condition, as contrary to the spirit and civilization of our time.

We suggest to all religious organizations to include as part of their study, religion as applied to the home, society, the nation and life in general; and

We appeal to all ecclesiastical bodies to so amend their laws, if necessary, that they shall not in any way discriminate between man and woman.

Resolved, That we deplore the outrages committed upon the Armenians, and record our appreciation of the unflinching heroism of our Armenian sisters in sacrificing their lives in defense of their honor and freedom of conscience, and we earnestly urge our sisters in Great Britain and other countries of Europe to use their influence with their governments that they take immediate action to establish security of life, honor and property in Armenia.

Resolved, That religion and patriotism demand that we protest against the Russian persecution of the Jew as an outrage against humanity and as forcing on our shores hordes of immigrants, unskilled and ignorant of our institutions, who complicate our industrial problems and who should be allowed to live in peace in their own land, and that we protest against the present course of injustice toward the colored people and the Indians, practised by our people and permitted by our government.

PATRIOTISM.

Resolved, That realizing the dangers which threaten the nation from dense and diverse populations and from lax enforcement of immigration and naturalization laws, we urge upon all our people that they co-operate to enforce existing laws and that they earnestly inquire what further legislation is necessary to make them more effective.

We gladly invite and welcome to our industrial life and to our educational and political privileges all who seek homes in this country and who desire to increase their own and the general welfare under the guarantees of the law. We believe that illiteracy should be a bar to the use of the ballot by the native or the foreign born citizen, and we protest against the entrance upon our shores of the vicious classes of other lands, who bring with them influences contrary to American institutions and tending to anarchy.

We protest against what is known as "lynch law," since the right of trial according to legal process is a fundamental principle of justice and liberty, and obedience to the laws of the land is the first duty of the citizen.

We believe that patriotic teaching in the schools, the introduction of the American flag into every schoolroom in the land, and its salute as the symbol and the prophecy of peace, of progress, of universal liberty and of equal rights under the Constitution, would unite the nation's children, strengthen love of law and develop the spirit of patriotism, which is the life of the republic.

THANKS.

Resolved, That the thanks of the National Council of Women of the United States, assembled in its Second Triennial Session, are hereby extended to the press of the country for the splendid reports of the meetings, which have spread a knowledge of the Council work, and to the correspondents, the reporters and the Associated and United Press representatives for their work in this direction, and to the chairman of the Council's Press Committee, Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, for the ability, devotion and courtesy with which she has discharged the duties of her position.

Resolved, That the National Council heartily thanks Miss Lucy E. Anthony, chairman of the Committee on Railroad Rates, for the unfailing patience and kindness with which she has filled a position demanding much labor.

Resolved, That the National Council extends its thanks to its Committee of Local Arrangements, and to its chairman, Mrs. Jennette M. H. Bradley, for the efficient manner in which all arrangements for the comfort of the Council members and visitors have been provided for.

Resolved, That we extend our thanks to the Independent Ice Company for furnishing so freely the ice for the use of those attending the meetings, and to all the employees of this building, whose willingness to be helpful, even beyond the actual demands of their duty, has done so much to assist the Council workers during the past fortnight.

Resolved, That we extend our thanks for the kind assistance rendered to the work of our standing Committee on Patriotic Teaching by the loan of flags by Captain Wallace Foster, and by the American Flag Company.

MEMORIAL.

Resolved, That in the death of its Patrons, Mrs. Rosa Miller Avery, Mrs. Ruth O. Delamater and Miss M. Adeline Thomson, the Council has lost three whose names were valuable to it, and whose influence strengthened it in the communities in which their lives were passed.

Resolved, That the Council extends its sympathy to the organizations which form it for the loss during the last four years of many valued workers from their ranks, prominent among these being Lucy Stone, Amelia Bloomer, Mary J. Seymour, Mary T. Lathrop, Mary A. Woodbridge, Julia Ames, Mary Allen West, Myra Bradwell, Elizabeth Oakes Smith, Sally Holley, Virginia L. Minor and Marian Skidmore.

On motion of Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, the resolutions adopted, February 23, by the Council in triennial session, in memory of the lamented Frederick Douglass, who died suddenly upon entering his home on return from his visit to the meeting of the National Council, February 20, were ordered spread upon the records and stand as follows :

Frederick Douglass.

BORN A SLAVE NEARLY EIGHTY YEARS AGO.

ESCAPED TO LIBERTY IN THE THIRTIES.

BEFORE THE WAR HIS FREEDOM WAS PURCHASED BY TWO ENGLISH WOMEN,
SISTERS, THE MISSES RICHARDSON.

ENFRANCHISED BY THE PROPERTY LAW OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK, WHICH
ALLOWED A PERSON, BLACK OR WHITE, TO VOTE, WHO HAD
\$250.00 WORTH OF PROPERTY.

DIED WEDNESDAY EVENING, FEB. 20, 1895.

Resolved, That in the death of Hon. Frederick Douglass, the National Council of Women of the United States, assembled in triennial session, feels itself sorely bereaved, and with tender respect and patriotic devotion, joins in memoriam of the great and good man passed away from the scenes of time.

We mourn him as a great and good man gone, as a great figure of prophecy, of hope and of fulfilment in the annals of American History ; but keener is our sense of loss because he was so lately in our midst. His last day on earth was passed with us. His familiar form, his dignified and genial bearing on our platform was his last tribute to woman's progress toward higher ideals in society, in custom and in law.

His shadow still lingers in our portals ; his words of sympathetic interest in our aspirations and our hopes still echoed through the evening air when the summons came ; out of life into death he went ; out of death into life eternal. With reverential thought, because of this swift, this unannounced transition,

and with solemn exaltation because of the possible dignity of human character and human achievements, which his life illustrates, we bring our tribute.

Born a slave, his human instinct drove him early to force his way to freedom. Liberty secured, his robust manhood made for himself an heroic career of service to his kindred, to his race, to his country and to the world. The tenderness of a refined nature sweetened his family life and ennobled his personal friendships. In the army of progress, he was the trusted comrade and the respected leader of men and women, living and dead, whom the years, more and more, will understand and honor.

He was a student of books, of men and of institutions. He wrote with clearness and force; he spoke with eloquence and power.

The woman movement found in him a friend and champion. His sense of justice and his soul of honor made their cause his own. He urged and aided the enlargement of their opportunities for education, for industrial independence and for political equality. He believed the quality of woman's service would be as helpful to the government as it had been blessed in the home.

He stood for temperance and purity and religion, and personified the virtues he extolled.

In him the hopes of his race were realized; in him humanity was dignified. The world is poorer because he is gone; humanity is richer because he came. The legacy of his life and service attests the truth that God keepeth watch above His own, that He shall turn and overturn until injustice dies and the right eternally triumphs.

(Signed)

MAY WRIGHT SEWALL,
SUSAN B. ANTHONY,
LILLIAN M. N. STEVENS,
MARGARET RAY WICKINS,
J. ELLEN FOSTER,
REV. ANNA HOWARD SHAW,
EMILY HOWLAND,

Committee.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

Swing wide, O shining portal,
That opes to God's new day!
Make room, ye ranks immortal,
A conqueror comes your way!
With greeting meet for victors
Your hearts and hands outreach,
Break, with glad song, his silence,
Too deep and grand for speech.

Greet him with martial music,
That fits a soldier's rest,
For braver heart for battle
Ne'er beat in warrior's breast.
A great, white heart of pity,
At war with sin and gloom,
His home is with the heroes,
Stand back and make him room.

Room for the stricken millions,
Unbound by freedom's wars!
To whom his strife meant light and life
And broken prison bars.
The love outpoured in prayers and tears,
Along the conqueror's track,
Is his spent love and life and years
Bringing their blessing back.

To live that freedom, truth and right
Might never know eclipse;
To die — with woman's work and word
Aglow upon his lips;
To face the foes of humankind
Through strife and wounds and scars;
It is enough! Lead on! to find
Thy place among the stars!

MARY LOWE DICKINSON.

Mrs. Kate Brownlee Sherwood moved that a vote of thanks be tendered the President for the just, impartial and efficient manner in which she had presided over the sessions of the triennial; for her unfailing kindness and courtesy, making this an ideal Council of Women. [Carried.]

Mrs. Sherwood also moved that a vote of thanks be tendered the Vice-President, the Corresponding Secretary, the Recording Secretary, the Treasurer, and all who have so nobly and ably assisted the President in the discharge of her high duties. [Carried.]

The President feelingly responded.

Mrs. Gibbs, fraternal delegate from the Canadian Council, was presented by the Chair and spoke as follows: "Madam President and Ladies. In the absence of the Countess of Aberdeen, President of the National Council of Women of Canada, I wish to extend to the National Council of Women of the United States a most hearty invitation to attend the National Council of Canada, to be held in May next. We hope the Executive of this body will appoint an unlimited number of delegates that you may prove the deep tenderness and warm welcome that awaits you in Canada, and give us an opportunity to return some of the loving cordiality and hospitality that you have accorded to us."

On motion the invitation was accepted with thanks.

Mrs. Kate Waller Barrett presented the following, which had been introduced into the United States Senate:

WHEREAS, The industrial education of women in household arts is of national importance and a potent factor in the labor problem, and a complete

presentation of best methods and appliances in household arts would tend toward a solution of the labor problem;

Be it enacted, That in connection with some exhibit already undertaken by the government, a special department shall be provided for making an effective presentation of these best methods and appliances in domestic arts. We, the undersigned, do petition the honorable body of the United States Senate to favorably consider the above providing for an exhibit of the best methods of domestic science, believing that large public interest would be secured by according to this important sphere of woman's work the dignity which would be bestowed upon it by such recognition.

(Signed)	SUSAN B. ANTHONY,	KATE WALLER BARRETT,
	RACHEL FOSTER AVERY,	EMMA C. SICKELS,
	J. ELLEN FOSTER,	JULIA P. LAVENS,
	ELIZABETH B. GRANNIS,	ELLEN A. RICHARDSON.

On motion of Mrs. Barrett, the Council indorsed the memorial and declared itself in favor of the bill introduced in the Senate.

Miss Isabel King from the Argentine Republic, a Patron, presented the following resolution, which was adopted:

WHEREAS, The commercial interests of our own country, the ideas promulgated by the Monroe Doctrine, and the broad scope of our Council platform, tend to a greater degree of fraternity among the countries of our continent;

Resolved, That the fellowship of the women in the South American countries be asked to the extent of sending the literature concerning the Council meeting and work, with invitation to their societies to be at one with us in our common aims, to at least the chief women in the capital city of each of the South American Republics.

On motion of Mrs. Avery, the invitation of the Board of Women Managers of the Cotton States and International Exposition to the Council to hold meetings under the auspices of the Board of Women Managers in October was accepted.

Miss Susan B. Anthony spoke as follows: "Madam President, our great leader, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, will reach her eightieth birthday on the 2d of next November, and it was first thought we would make it a New York celebration; but it was thought best to bring this matter before the Council, and I want to move — it seems that all the great results to women grew out of that little meeting at Seneca Falls, where Lucretia Mott and Mrs. Stanton were present. Mrs. Stanton stands now, I think, alone. I want this Council to 'mother,' the celebration instead of giving it only to the Suffrage Association; I would like to have this Council, with its twenty organizations, do itself the honor of taking the matter in charge, and I make that as a motion."

The President: "The Chair begs your indulgence for a moment. The International Council held in 1888, out of which the permanent Council of Women of the United States grew, is said by Miss Anthony to have originated in the mind of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and it seems most fitting that the National Council should take action upon the celebration of the birthday of this truly great woman."

The motion was seconded by Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, Mrs. Kate Brownlee Sherwood and Mrs. Emmeline B. Wells. [Carried.]

On motion of Miss Anthony, it was voted to send fraternal greetings to the Pacific Slope Woman's Congress, to meet the third week in May.

On motion the last business meeting of the second triennial of the National Council of Women of the United States adjourned.

EBBITT HOUSE, 10 o'clock, A.M., March 4, 1895.

Pursuant to a call for an extra meeting, given out at the closing meeting of the second triennial, March 2, the Executive Committee convened and was called to order by the President, Mrs. Mary Lowe Dickinson, in the chair. Twenty-five members were present. The President made a brief address, and requested ex-President Sewall to take the chair, which she did. By request of the Recording Secretary, the ex-Recording Secretary, Mrs. Davis, took the minutes of the meeting.

The meeting lasted until five P.M., with a recess for luncheon, and was devoted chiefly to a free discussion of methods and plans for future work.

On motion of Mrs. Cheney, seconded by Mrs. Bagley, Mrs. Louise Barnum Robbins, the Corresponding Secretary, and Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, were appointed a committee to prepare a form of constitution for Local Councils, in harmony with the amended constitution of the Council.

On motion of Mrs. Lillian M. N. Stevens, seconded by Mrs. Minnie J. Snow, the decision of place for holding the May meeting of the Executive Committee was left to the general officers.

On motion, the Corresponding Secretary was instructed to prepare the transactions of the second triennial for publication.

By unanimous consent, it was voted to hold a meeting of one week's duration at Atlanta in acceptance of the invitation of the Board of Women Managers of the Cotton States and International Exposition, the dates to be determined by the general officers.

On motion of Miss Anthony the President was instructed to appoint, after due consideration, a committee to take charge of the prep-

arations for the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Birthday Celebration, which, upon request of the National Suffrage Association, the Council had voted to hold under its auspices.

In reply to an inquiry the Chair stated that the membership of the standing committees expires with the retirement of an administration, also that new standing committees can be provided for only by the Executive Committee.

On motion of Mrs. Isabella Charles Davis, seconded by Mrs. Frances E. N. Bagley, the present four standing committees were continued.

On motion of Mrs. Sewall, seconded by Mrs. Isabella Charles Davis, it was voted to add a Committee on Domestic Science to the list.

On motion of Mrs. Lillian M. N. Stevens, seconded by Mrs. Emily S. Chace, it was voted to add to the list a Committee on the Press.

On motion of Mrs. Avery it was voted that the number of members of standing committees be unlimited, and that they be appointed by the President with the approval of the general officers.

On motion of Mrs. Avery, seconded by Mrs. Beiler, the general officers were instructed to formulate plans for promoting the organization of Local Councils.

It was suggested by Miss Isabel King, Patron, that the Council send greetings to the wife of the President of the Argentine Republic, and through her to the women of South America.

On motion of Mrs. Avery, such a greeting was ordered to be prepared by the general officers, and upon Miss King's departure for South America to be entrusted to her charge for transmittal and delivery in person.

It was suggested by Mrs. Avery that it would be well for the Council, if the delegates to the Council should be elected for the triennial term, or annually, in order that there might always be a full representation in the Executive Committee. It was the sense of the meeting that this could be only a suggestion as the Council has no control over the organizations in their internal workings, and that each organization would naturally make its delegate in accordance with its own interests in its relations with the Council, either for one year or a longer term; also that alternates as well as delegates should be provided for.

On motion of Mrs. Stevens, Miss Susan B. Anthony and Rev. Anna H. Shaw were appointed fraternal delegates to present the greetings of the Council to the Pacific Coast Woman's Congress to be held in May.

On motion of Mrs. Isabella Charles Davis, seconded by Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, the general officers were instructed to appoint

fraternal delegates to attend the coming annual meeting of the National Council of Women of Canada.*

The report of the ex-officers regarding the Cabinet was presented, and upon the motion of Mrs. Robbins, seconded by several, the report was approved and adopted. A discussion arose as to who are eligible to positions in the Cabinet. The general sense of the meeting was that the Cabinet should be filled from the members of organizations within the Council.

On motion of Miss Anthony, seconded by Mrs. Avery, it was voted that presidents of organizations belonging to the Council shall not be eligible to the Cabinet.

On motion of Mrs. Isabella Charles Davis, seconded by Mrs. Stevens, it was voted that the Cabinet of the President shall consist of not less than eight portfolios, the holders of which shall be termed Secretaries.

The titles of the eight portfolios were adopted as follows :

1. Department of Foreign Relations.
2. Department of Education.
3. Department of Religion.
4. Department of Philanthropy.
5. Department of Art and Literature.
6. Department of Moral Reform.
7. Department of Social Economics.
8. Department of the Home.

On motion of Mrs. Stevens, seconded by Miss Lucy E. Anthony, all unfinished business was referred to the general officers.

On motion of Miss Susan B. Anthony, seconded by Mrs. Lillian M. N. Stevens, it was voted that, hereafter, at least one public meeting should be held by the Council at the time and place of the annual meeting of the Executive Committee.

*The President, Mrs. Mary Lowe Dickinson, intended to attend this meeting which was held during the last week of May, in Toronto, Ont., but on the eve of starting for that city, she unfortunately met with a serious accident which confined her to her room for many weeks.

The fraternal delegates regularly appointed were Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, Mrs. Kate Brownlee Sherwood and the Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. Louise Barnum Robbins. The two former, in compliance with the appointments, attended the meeting; Mrs. Robbins also accepted the trust, but soon thereafter she was appointed by the Governor of Michigan a delegate from that State in the National Conference of Charities and Corrections to be held on the same dates of the Canadian meeting, in New Haven, Conn. After consultation with the leaders of the Council, it was considered advisable, on account of certain interests of the Council, that Mrs. Robbins should attend the National Conference of Charities, which she did upon the advice and approval of President Dickinson, but with many regrets that thereby she was obliged to forego the pleasure of attending the annual meeting of the National Council of Women of Canada.

The President announced appointments to her Cabinet as follows :

MEMBERS OF THE CABINET.

MRS. MAY WRIGHT SEWALL, *Secretary of the Department of Foreign Relations.*
MRS. LILLIAN M. N. STEVENS, *Secretary of the Department of Moral Reform.*
MRS. FRANCES E. N. BAGLEY, *Secretary of the Department of Art and Literature.*
MRS. ISABELLA CHARLES DAVIS, *Secretary of the Department of Social Economics.*
MRS. RACHEL FOSTER AVERY, *Secretary of the Department of the Home.*

On motion of Mrs. Bagley a vote of thanks was extended to Mrs. May Wright Sewall for presiding over the meeting, and to Mrs. Isabella Charles Davis for acting as Recording Secretary. Adjourned *sine die*.

SOCIAL COURTESIES.

During the second triennial meeting of the Council many social courtesies were extended to the members and visitors of the Council. Among them may be mentioned the following :

On Monday, February 18, from 3 to 5 p.m., the general officers and leading women of the Council held a reception in the parlors of the Ebbitt House which was attended by large numbers of the people of Washington, who are prominent in the official and social circles, and by visitors from all parts of the country. The attendance was a signal compliment to the women of the National Council.

The members of the Reception Committee were the hostesses on the afternoon of February 25, at the Ebbitt House, in tendering a handsome reception to the members of the Council. There was music, and the floral decorations were beautiful. Mrs. Jennette M. H. Bradley, Chairman of Committee on Local Arrangements, and Mrs. Ellen Spencer Mussey, Chairman of Committee on Reception, headed the receiving line, in which were the officers and prominent women of the Council. The attendance was large and the occasion delightful.

On the afternoon of February 26, Miss Adelaide Johnson, the sculptor, gave a unique and charming reception in her studio to the women of the Council. The officers of the Council received with Miss Johnson.

Mrs. John R. McLean received at 5 o'clock, on the afternoon of February 28, in honor of Miss Anthony. The representatives of the Council and leading people of Washington's official and social circles were present, and the occasion was elegant in all its appointments and delightful in its social features.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE ATLANTA MEETING.

After the close of the second triennial of the National Council, the President, Mrs. Mary Lowe Dickinson, established her office in New York City, and the Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. Louise Barnum Robbins, established her office at Adrian, Mich.

Soon thereafter, upon recommendation of the President and with the approval of the Executive Committee, the annual May meeting of the committee was postponed to be held in connection with the meeting voted to be held at Atlanta under the auspices of the Women's Congresses of the Board of Women Managers of the Cotton States Exposition, in compliance with the invitation which had been accepted by the Council.

In September the formal call was issued from the office of the Corresponding Secretary for the above mentioned meeting, and plans for the same were rapidly pushed forward, resulting in the following programme :

CONFERENCES OF THE
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF THE UNITED STATES,
UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE
WOMEN'S CONGRESSES OF THE BOARD OF WOMEN MANAGERS
OF THE
COTTON STATES AND INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION,
ATLANTA, GEORGIA,

To be Held in the Auditorium at 2.30 P.M.,

OCTOBER 7 TO 12, INCLUSIVE, 1895.

OFFICERS OF THE COUNCIL:

MARY LOWE DICKINSON, *President.*

Rev. ANNA HOWARD SHAW, *Vice-President.*

LOUISE BARNUM ROBBINS, *Corresponding Secretary.*

EMELINE BURLINGAME CHENEY, *First Recording Secretary.*

HELEN FINLAY BRISTOL, *Second Recording Secretary.*

HANNAH J. BAILEY, *Treasurer.*

AUDITORIUM, 2.30 O'CLOCK.

Monday Afternoon, October 7.

Opening Religious Exercises.

Introductory Addresses { Mrs. Joseph Thompson, President Board of Women
Managers.
Loulie M. Gordon, Chairman Committee on Women's
Congresses.

Opening Address Mary Lowe Dickinson, President, New York
National Council of Women of Canada.

National Woman's Christian Temperance Union Lide Meriwether, Tennessee

Florence Crittenton Missions Kate Waller Barrett, District of Columbia

Address, "Woman's Problem in Practical Philanthropy," Margaret Ray Wickins, Illinois

Address, "The Significance of the Red Cross Movement,"

Clara Barton, District of Columbia

AUDITORIUM, 2.30 O'CLOCK.

Tuesday Afternoon, October 8.

Mississippi Valley Council of Women Eliza B. Ingalls, President, Kansas

Report of Committee on Patriotic Instruction, Kate Brownlee Sherwood, Chairman, Ohio

National Christian League for the Promotion of Social Purity,

Elizabeth B. Grannis, President, New York

National Woman's Relief Society Zina D. H. Young, President, Utah

National Association of Woman Stenographers Netta G. McLaughlin, President, Illinois

Supreme Hive Ladies of the Maccabees Lillian M. Hollister, President, Michigan

Address, "The Education of the Future" Prof. Helen L. Webster, Wellesley College

Address, "Woman's Position in the Industrial World,"

Helena T. Goessman, Massachusetts

Address, "The Present Trend of Philanthropic Thought" Kate Bond, New York

AUDITORIUM, 2.30 O'CLOCK.

Wednesday Afternoon, October 9.

Report of Committee on Dress Annie White Johnson, Chairman, Illinois

National Free Baptist Woman's Missionary Society, Emeline Burlingame Cheney, Maine

Woman's Foreign Missionary Union of Friends Hannah J. Bailey, Maine

National Council of Jewish Women Sadie American, Illinois

American Anti-Vivisection Society, Caroline Earle White, Representative, Pennsylvania

National League of Colored Women C. L. Franklin, District of Columbia

Address, "Woman's Work as Minister and Missionary," Frances Stewart Mosher, Michigan

Address, "The Messianic Idea Among the Jews" Clara Block, Ohio

Address, "Household Economics as a University Movement,"

Helen Campbell, University of Wisconsin

AUDITORIUM, 2.30 O'CLOCK.

Thursday Afternoon, October 10.

Pacific Coast Woman's Congress Association . . . Charlotte Perkins Stetson, California
 Report of Committee on Divorce Reform, Ellen Battelle Dietrick, Chairman, Massachusetts
 National-American Woman Suffrage Association . . . Carrie Chapman Catt, New York
 National Association of Loyal Women of American Liberty,
 Mrs. I. C. Manchester, President, Rhode Island
 Woman's Republican Association of the United States, Helen Varick Boswell, New York
 Universal Peace Union Belva A. Lockwood, District of Columbia
 Address, "Woman's Responsibility for the Dumb Creation," Mary F. Lovell, Pennsylvania
 Address, "Woman's Place in the Government of the United States,"
 J. Ellen Foster, District of Columbia
 Address, "Education in Citizenship" Kate Brownlee Sherwood, Ohio

AUDITORIUM, 2.30 O'CLOCK.

Friday Afternoon, October 11.

Woman's Relief Corps, Auxiliary to the Grand Army of the Republic,
 Elizabeth A. Turner, President, Massachusetts
 Winodaugbels, Jennette M. H. Bradley, President, District of Columbia
 Young Ladies' National Mutual Improvement Association,
 Elmina S. Taylor, President, Utah
 International Kindergarten Union,
 Henry W. Blake, Editor of *Kindergarten News*, Massachusetts
 Ella May Wheatley, Tennessee
 Local Council of Women of Montreal Julia Drummond, President, Canada
 Local Council of Women of Quincy Dr. Abby Fox-Rooney, President, Illinois
 Address, "Relation of Local Councils of Women to Municipal Government,"
 Josephine R. Nichols, Indiana
 Address, "Influence of Home and Foreign Mission Work upon Woman's Development,"
 Emeline Burlingame Cheney, Maine
 Address, "Woman and Government Reform" . . . Catharine Waugh McCulloch, Illinois

AUDITORIUM, 2.30 O'CLOCK.

Saturday Afternoon, October 12.

Address, "The Function of the Cabinet,"
 May Wright Sewall, Secretary of the Department of Foreign Relations, Indiana
 Address, "Relation of Art and Literature to Woman's Progress,"
 Frances E. Bagley, Secretary of the Department of Art and Literature, Michigan
 Address,
 Isabella Charles Davis, Secretary of the Department of Social Economics, New York
 Address, "Relation of the Home to Woman's Work in Organization."
 Rachel Foster Avery, Secretary of the Department of the Home, Pennsylvania
 Address, "Influence of Women on Religious Progress,"
 Mary Newbury Adams, Secretary of the Department of Religion, Iowa
 Closing Address Mary Lowe Dickinson, President, New York

The programme included also a list of "Members of the Council" and a list of "Patrons" which need not be reproduced here.

PORTION OF THE OPENING ADDRESS

BY

MARY LOWE DICKINSON,

President of the National Council of Women,

AT

ATLANTA, OCT. 7, 1895.

In one of the numbers of a well-known periodical recently appeared a statement of a scientific fact which suggested a corresponding fact that might be applied to the National Council of Women of the United States. The fact related to the utilization of the currents of the air as a motor in varied mechanical activities — the capturing of the changeable fleeting wind, that bloweth where it listeth, and the chaining and directing of its forces until it blows where *we* list instead. Whence it cometh it may be that no man knoweth, but whither it goeth both man and woman shall know, and more than that, shall guide it in its going. Coming as it listeth, it shall yet go where we send it, and we shall learn the wisdom that sends it where the world needs it most for purposes of refreshment or of power. Unguided, uncontrolled, its siroccos scorch us, its ice blasts freeze us, its whirlwinds wreck us, its cyclones swirl and sweep, heedless of human homes and human lives that go down in their track.

Going where *we* list, its zephyrs soothe us, its breezes cool our fever and refresh our weariness, its favoring gales speed our commerce or waft our fleets to victory. We are no longer “driven of winds and tossed,” but, coming nearer constantly to His power whom the winds and the sea obey, *we also* learn how to “plant our footsteps in the sea and ride upon the storm.”

And something strangely analogous to this exists in the effort of the National Council of Women to capture and enchain the currents of

thought and sentiment and sympathy and aspiration and feeling that answer, in woman-nature, to the wind that bloweth where it listeth.

The fancies by which we drift, the emotions that determine the direction of our life, the currents of sentiment that ebb and flow with ever-varying force and ever-changing result, the cyclones of feeling that wreck us, and the steady, strengthening winds of conviction and duty that save us — on all of these, unused and often undisciplined forces, organized effort puts a hand gentle and strong, bringing them into the beautiful submission that is a condition of the highest type of power.

For the utilization of the winds we have more than half a million of windmills. We have over a hundred establishments for manufacturing windmills, and they are sent out to do their work at the rate of fifty thousand a year, not that they may create the wind, but that they may utilize for the highest ends the currents already provided by beneficent nature.

And the devices of this Council for putting itself in relation to all the varying currents of thought and labor that have marked the life of woman hitherto, studying as to how much of the blowing has been beneficent and strengthening to humanity, how much of it has been like the idle play of zephyrs over the flowers, how much of it has left destruction in its track, are only in another range of nature, like the efforts made to understand the will and work and way of the wind. As the Council watches every organization and every group of women engaged in a common work anywhere, it finds these groups more or less manufacturers of windmills, striving to turn to some good the religious, social and philanthropic currents of womanly thought.

Each organization having decided upon the work most necessary for the development and advancement of human character and human interests, has created its machinery and knowing well that that machinery can only be kept running by the forces drawn in from the great multitudes of women outside itself, it recognizes that well-known scientific fact with reference to all air currents, that wind velocities increase up to a certain limit, in proportion to the height of the current above the surface of the earth. It has therefore been the Council's province to draw all currents of local interest or of sympathy in the myriad needs of humanity, all lines of advanced thought and effort, up to a higher level, a common altitude where all organizations become the sharers of the best in each, and where each partakes of the highest elements of all — where each is lifted above its narrower range of service into a comprehension of the greatness of *union in service* — up above

any conflicting winds of prejudice, any personal antagonisms, above envies or jealousies, into a higher and clearer atmosphere, favorable to deeper insight, to broader outlook, to clearer vision, and hence to increased velocity of progress.

This is the uplifting influence of the union of all organizations in one grand organization. It makes the whole greater than any part. It lifts each to the highest region of active sympathy of which it is capable. It permeates each with that spirit of breadth and freedom that is most favorable to growth. And this is the condition under which currents move most rapidly. Just as it is possible now by scientific methods to accurately calculate the amount of wind force that may be utilized at any given point, so it is possible for such study to be made through the Council by each organization as to the powers at the control of the other organizations as to be able to fairly estimate, and therefore to adequately increase the sum of moral or political or social influence that may emanate from any *one* or from a combination of the forces of all.

All without us lies the world that waits to see what we shall do with our problem of organization, which is really only the problem of how to transmit the existing but unused forces into a beneficent and effective force for good.

* * * * *

The list of names of our societies are on the banners before you, the work that each is doing will find such expression as the breadth of the organizations and their work and the narrowness of the limits of our time will admit. They stand, as you well know, like so many links in a great chain, each link perfect and complete in its own circle, unhindered in its methods of work, uninfluenced except as sympathy and interest may influence by any other organization, or by its affiliation with the Council. Each organization, as it comes in to give its strength to the Council, lengthens and strengthens the chain which shall draw the world away from ignorance and injustice and help to conserve the highest good of the family and the State, and each receives the advantage of the transmission of the force of the whole chain to its particular link, the advantage of common purpose, of mutual interest, of the deepening of insight, of the knowledge of what each organization is to itself, and of what it may be to its affiliated organizations — of what it may be to the world.

MINUTES OF THE MEETING
OF THE
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

HELD IN THE HOTEL ARAGON, ATLANTA, GA., OCT. 12, 1895

The meeting was called to order at 9 A.M., the President, Mrs. Mary Lowe Dickinson, in the chair.

There were present, Mrs. Mary Lowe Dickinson, President; Mrs. Emeline Burlingame Cheney, First Recording Secretary; Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, Proxy of President of National-American Woman Suffrage Association; Mrs. F. C. Swift, Delegate; Mrs. Elizabeth B. Grannis, President National Christian League for Promotion of Social Purity; Mrs. Isabella Charles Davis, Delegate; Mrs. I. C. Manchester, President National Association of Loyal Women of American Liberty; Mrs. Elizabeth Perkins, Delegate; Clara Block, Proxy of President, National Council of Jewish Women; Sadie American, Delegate; Mrs. Lillian M. Hollister, Supreme Commander Ladies of the Maccabees; Bina M. West, Delegate; Dr. Abby Fox-Rooney, President Local Council of Women of Quincy; Mrs. Mary Newbury Adams, Secretary of the Department of Religion.

In the absence of the Recording Secretary, Mrs. Isabella Charles Davis was appointed Secretary *pro tem.*, and read the minutes of the last meeting of the Executive Committee held March 4, 1895, which were corrected and approved.

Mrs. Mary Newbury Adams asked whether there was anything in the constitution or by-laws preventing persons being made Patrons of the Council by contributions from clubs, societies, or by other individuals.

Mrs. Davis replied that there is no provision against any person or society contributing a fee and naming the person to be made the Patron, and that several persons have been honored in that way by friends or organizations.

The President announced that the last appointment to the Cabinet was that of Mrs. Mary Newbury Adams, Secretary of the Department of Religion.

In the absence of Mrs. Louise Barnum Robbins, Corresponding Secretary, the President made the following report of points which she believed Mrs. Robbins would cover in her report if she were present:

First, the omission of the annual May meeting, which was postponed to be held in connection with our meeting here, by a vote of the Executive Committee, upon my recommendation.

This action was taken in view of the fact that the Council had undertaken the charge of two meetings to be held during the autumn of 1895, *viz*: the meeting to be held here in Atlanta under the auspices of the Women's Congresses of the Board of Women Managers of the Cotton States and International Exposition, and the celebration of the eightieth birthday of Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton; therefore it was deemed unnecessary to hold the annual business meeting at the usual May time.

"The next thing which I think Mrs. Robbins would report if she were here would be the sending of the greetings of the National Council to the Argentine Republic, in the hope that they might result in the formation of a Council there, which would naturally unite with the International Council of Women. In compliance with a resolution passed, the formal greetings were prepared and, receiving the official signatures of the general officers, were confided to one of our Patrons, Miss King, to be presented by her in person on her arrival in South America. The report of Miss King has not been received; I understand, however, that Miss King did get them into the hands of the leading women of the Republic. The papers took a very great interest in the matter, giving column after column, not only with reference to her effort to interest the women in the work, but with reference to the whole work of National Councils.

"The next point which I think the Corresponding Secretary would report would refer to what our delegates brought back from the meeting of the Canadian Council. Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery and Mrs. Kate Brownlee Sherwood were our delegates. A most charming letter from Lady Aberdeen received this morning reiterates her kind assurance that the National Council of Women of Canada owes much to the National Council of Women of the United States.

"The next point would, I am sure, deal with the non-publication of the transactions of the second triennial up to the present time.

There have been no funds in the treasury with which to meet such an expenditure, and the officers did not feel like taking the responsibility of adding to the Council's debt. We felt that we should, as a first step, expend our energies upon the question of putting our finances upon a proper and honorable basis."

The President further stated that when they entered upon their work it was with the understanding that the Council had voted a certain sum per year for clerical assistance for the Corresponding Secretary; that it was only just to Mrs. Robbins to say that she had been trying to get along without adequate help, and had not called upon the Council for the help which they were to give.

The report of the Treasurer, Mrs. Hannah J. Bailey, was submitted and is as follows:—

HANNAH J. BAILEY, TREASURER, *in account with* NATIONAL COUNCIL
OF WOMEN OF THE UNITED STATES.

1895.

Dr.

May 27. To amount received from Lillian M. N. Stevens, Treasurer, \$12 04
Cash loan by Mary Lowe Dickinson 1,100 00

Cash received, Patron fees:—

Helen B. Tillotson	\$100 00	
Anna C. Severance	100 00	
Allaseba M. Bliss	100 00	
Emily S. Chace, balance on	60 00	
		360 00

Cash received, membership fees:

Supreme Hive Ladies of Maccabees	100 00	
Woman's Christian Temperance Union	33 33	
		133 33

Donations by deductions from bills due:—

May Wright Sewall	61 10	
Rachel Foster Avery	500 00	
Nicolas M. Shaw	52 66	
Harriet A. Shinn	3 65	
		617 41

Total	\$2,222 78
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Cr.

By Cash paid, account of:—

May Wright Sewall, balance on money advanced for Council work	\$800 00
Alfred J. Ferris, printing and stationery	121 20
Stormont & Jackson, electrotyping	20 82
Amount carried forward	\$942 02

<i>Amount brought forward</i>	\$942 02
Harriet A. Shinn, stenography	25 00
Rachel Foster Avery	63 75
Nicolas M. Shaw, salary, clerical help, previous administration	300 00
C. H. Shaw, clerical work, previous administration	10 46
Louise Barnum Robbins, Corresponding Secretary, stationery, postage, expressage, freight, etc.	69 69
S. V. Cook, lettering banners	16 00
E. B. Packard, printing	1 00
E. B. Stillings, stationery and printing	39 75
Mary Lowe Dickinson, President, on loan	100 00
Mary Lowe Dickinson, President, postage	1 50
Deductions as donations	617 41
Balance on hand	36 20
	<hr/> \$2,222 78

Respectfully submitted,

HANNAH J. BAILEY,

Atlanta, Ga., Oct. 12, 1895.

Treasurer.

The President in behalf of the chairman of the Committee on Equal Pay for Equal Work, Mary Desha, stated that Miss Desha had requested her to say that her committee proposed to do some very active work before the administration at Washington, with reference to discriminating against women workers in governmental offices and positions, and while it would not be necessary to take any special action, yet she would like to be able to say to Miss Desha that she had the entire sympathy of the meeting, and that they were willing to co-operate with her as far as possible. Mrs. Davis, supported by Mrs. Hollister, presented the following resolution, which was adopted:

Resolved, That the Corresponding Secretary be instructed to notify the Chairman of the Committee on Equal Pay for Equal Work, that this meeting is in hearty sympathy with, and approves of the efforts of said committee in working to secure for women equal pay for equal work in the departments of the government of the United States.

Adjourned *sine die*.

The Board of Women Managers of the Cotton States' Exposition tendered many delightful social courtesies to the members of the Council, all of which were greatly enjoyed and highly appreciated.

CHAPTER XV.

AN INVITATION *

FOR THE

REUNION OF PIONEERS AND FRIENDS OF WOMAN'S
PROGRESS.

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF THE UNITED STATES.

TO BE HELD

NOVEMBER 12, 1895.

THE EIGHTIETH BIRTHDAY OF MRS. ELIZABETH CADY STANTON.

Believing that the progress made by women in the last half century along religious, philanthropic, intellectual, political and industrial lines may be still further promoted by a more general acknowledgment of their efforts and successes, it has been decided to hold in the Metropolitan Opera House, New York City, a gathering whose object shall be to give deserved recognition of past achievement and stimulation and encouragement to future endeavor.

As an appropriate occasion for such a celebration, the eightieth birthday of Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton has been chosen. Her half-century of pioneer work for the advancement of women makes her name a natural inspiration for such an occasion, and her life an appropriate object of the congratulation and homage of the world.

The celebration will take place under the auspices of the National Council of Women of the United States, which is composed of twenty national organizations, with an aggregate membership of seven hundred thousand women. All affiliated societies, organizations outside the Council, and interested individuals are hereby cordially invited to unite with the Council in grateful recognition of the debt which the women of the present owe to the pioneers of the past.

*This invitation to the organizations of women and individuals was issued by the officers of the National Council of Women of the United States in June, 1895.

From their supreme interest in the enfranchisement of woman, the ideas and influence of Mrs. Stanton and her great co-worker, Miss Anthony, have permeated all fields of progress, until these leaders have become the natural centre of that group of pioneers in education and philanthropy, in the professions, the industries and the arts, whom we hope to bring together on this occasion. We aim to show to the younger generation, not alone the work that has been wrought by and for women, but the world's great women workers, whose struggles and sacrifices have brought nearer a new day of truer freedom and nobler development for the race.

The highest success of the plan for the reunion demands the cordial sympathy and practical co-operation of individuals and organizations interested in any phase of woman's work. The desire to co-operate may be expressed by the following methods:—

1. **INVITATION.** By the acceptance of the invitation which is hereby most cordially extended to each society to be present in as large a body as possible.

2. **PLATFORM.** By the acceptance on the part of the President and one delegate from each organization of seats upon the platform.

3. **GENERAL COMMITTEE.** By the selection of the names of three members to represent each organization upon the general committee.

4. **PATRONS.** By permission to place the society's name upon the Patron list, as expressive of the sympathy of the organization with the objects of the occasion. It is desired to make that Patron list as widely representative as possible, welcoming to it not only organizations, but the names of men or women prominently interested in any one of the lines of progress whose pioneers will participate in the celebration. The use of an organization's name does not exclude the names of members as individuals, which will be added to the list as suggested by each organization. The reception of the name implies, in every instance, the consent of the member.

5. **PIONEERS.** As above stated, it is the intent of the plan to give due recognition and honor to all phases of woman's work. The list of pioneers already includes many honored names, but additional names of founders or earliest workers in any line of effort will be gratefully received. All such early workers will have their places upon the platform in the groups representing their own fields of progress.

6. **CONTRIBUTIONS.** Contributions will be gratefully received from societies, or from individuals sufficiently interested to aid in defraying the expenses of the occasion.

7. **BIRTHDAY FUND.** On this occasion, which has fitly been placed on the eightieth birthday of Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, it is proposed to place at her disposal, as a birthday tribute, a sum that shall be used as her heart and judgment may dictate for the advancement of woman's work.

Any contribution that your interest in the movement may incline you to forward, will be gratefully received.

8. **RESPONSES.** Any or all responses to the points of the above invitation may be sent to Miss Kate Bond, Chairman of the General Committee, 280 West 59th Street, New York City. The necessity for an early response needs no emphasis, and promptness is especially necessary to secure boxes and seats.

MARY LOWE DICKINSON,

President.

LOUISE BARNUM ROBBINS,

*Corresponding Secretary National Council of Women
of the United States.*

The above invitation was widely distributed, awakening great interest, sympathy and co-operation. The President of the National Council gave much time and thought to the appointment of local committees and to all the preparations for this notable event, whose historical importance and brilliant success justify the insertion of the programme of the reunion, which herein follows: —

METROPOLITAN OPERA HOUSE, NEW YORK..

TUESDAY EVENING, NOV. 12, 1895.

REUNION

OF THE

PIONEERS AND FRIENDS OF WOMAN'S PROGRESS,

ON THE

EIGHTIETH BIRTHDAY OF MRS. ELIZABETH CADY STANTON.

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF THE UNITED STATES.

MRS. MARY LOWE DICKINSON,

President.

PROGRAMME.

Mrs. Mary Lowe Dickinson, Presiding.

Music — Quartette The Parke Sisters
 Welcome Hon. Wm. L. Strong, Mayor of New York City
 Greetings from Abroad Mrs. Ormiston Chant, England

ADDRESSES:

Religion Rev. Anna Howard Shaw
 Education M. Carey Thomas, Pres. Bryn Mawr College
 Music — Solo Madame Antoinette Stirling

PHILANTHROPY:

Red Cross Clara Barton, Pres. Red Cross Soc.
 Temperance Mrs. Mary T. Burt, Pres. New York W.C.T.U.
 Work for Indians { Mrs. W. R. Brooks,
 Mrs. A. S. Quinton, Pres. W.N. Ind. Ass'n
 Music — "The Marvellous Works," "Creation" Haydn

St. Philip's Choir.

E. B. Kinney, Choir Master.

Moral Progress Rev. Ida C. Hultin
 Suffrage Susan B. Anthony
 Address Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton
 Music — Solo Madame Antoinette Stirling
 Literature Mrs. Julia Ward Howe
 Art Harriet Hosmer

Medicine { Paper by Emily Blackwell, M.D.,
 Dean Woman's Med. College
 Read by Elizabeth M. Cushier, M.D.

Foreign Missions Mrs. Emeline Burlingame Cheney
 Progress of Colored Women Mrs. Fannie Barrier Williams
 Music — Quartette The Parke Sisters
 Industries Harriette A. Keyser
 Woman's Progress and Human Progress, Mrs. J. Ellen Foster,

Pres. Woman's Republican Association of the United States.

General Federation of Clubs Mrs. Ella Dietz Clymer
 Music — "How Holy are the Messengers," (St. Paul) Mendelssohn
 St. Philip's Choir.

National Council of Women of the United States Mrs. May Wright Sewall
 Tribute — From New York City Woman's Suffrage League, Mrs. L. Devereux Blake
 Camera Tableaux — Themes suggested by Alice W. Rollins

Arranged by Alexander Black, author of "Miss Jerry."

An article entitled "A Half Century of Progress," from the gifted pen of Mary Lowe Dickinson, President of the Council, appeared in *The Arena*, February, 1896. By the kind permission of the editor of *The Arena*, the article is herein reprinted, for which great favor thankful acknowledgment is made. The high value of the article as a fitting report of the reunion justifies its place upon these pages ;

A HALF CENTURY OF PROGRESS.

BY

MARY LOWE DICKINSON,

President of the National Council of Women of the United States.

(By permission of *The Arena*, reprinted from its pages of February, 1896.)

In the month of June of last year there went out from the President of the National Council of Women of the United States the following invitation, which we venture to repeat, as indicating as fully as any later utterance the significance and scope of the occasion to which it refers: — (The invitation appears on pages 261-3.—ED.)

Naturally the invitation reached a multitude of individuals thoughtful enough to recognize the relation of woman's progress to human progress. From men and women on both sides of the ocean, whose names are identified with efforts to lift humanity to the highest type of moral, social and intellectual life, it brought responses expressing warmest sympathy with the proposed reunion. Similar responses came, not only from the organizations represented in the National Council, but from scores of others not yet affiliated therewith, and each organization, whether composed of men and women, or of women only, was invited to representation on a general committee, from whose members were chosen special committees, who, with the assistance of additions from the Patron list, prosecuted the local work. That Patron list, too long for insertion here, included many names from both continents, whose weight depended not upon social standing, but upon records of co-operation in educational, philanthropic or political work, such as had for its object the betterment of human conditions and the development of the race.

As the above invitation indicates, the reunion had a fourfold function. First of all, it was intended to emphasize a great principle of truth and justice, and to throw that principle into grand relief by

showing the loftiness of character that had resulted from its embodiment in a grandly unique personality. The world naturally thinks of the personality before it thinks of the principle. It has at least so much unconscious reverence and courtesy left as to honor a noble woman even when failing to rightly apprehend a noble cause. And yet it was the principle which, within the woman, had operated as a mighty moral force, guiding her efforts and dominating her powers for more than half a century. It was the principle, acting like the little leaven within the mass of accumulated circumstances and inert conditions, which Mrs. Stanton, of all women, would desire to see emphasized and exalted to its true place in the minds of loyal women and admiring men.

Appreciation and enthusiasm for this grand principle of human equality and the grand personality that fought for it, ran quite too many years at our feet in a sluggish, creeping stream, whose flowing was looked down upon with indifference or scorn. In these later years the current has risen like a tide, moving steadily upward, flooding many hearts with loyalty and stirring many lips to utterance. To afford this tardy loyalty its proper outlet and expression, to render more tangible and definite all vague and hesitant sympathy, to crystallize the growing sentiment in favor of human freedom of body and brain and soul, to give youth the opportunity to reverence the glory of age, to give hearts their utterance in word and song, was perhaps the most popular purpose of the reunion. In other words, it gave an opportunity for those who revered Mrs. Stanton as a queen among women, to show their reverence, and to all others an opportunity to recognize the work her life had wrought, and to see in it an epitome of the progress of a century.

In the third place, the reunion was an expression and illustration of the distinctive idea of the National Council, which claims to give recognition and honor to all good in all human effort without demanding uniformity of opinion as a basis of approval or co-operation. It claims and acts upon the fact of possible unity of service for humanity, notwithstanding differences of creed and conviction and methods and plans.

Of the numerous organizations which separately declared their sympathy with the movement to honor Mrs. Stanton's birthday, by a reunion of women workers and a consideration of the sources and value of woman's work, hardly any two were alike in views, in scope or in practice, yet all could meet together in loyalty to a great principle, and in honor to a great personality. Some societies, indeed, which

had never before found common ground enough to give them a place to stand amicably side by side, met most cordially upon this plane. Not even the shadow of prejudice could obscure their appreciation of that which appeals to all humanity as distinctively noble, and unity of feeling on this one point seemed for the time being strong enough to sweep away all trace of doubt of one another, and all sense of difference in deed and creed. The things that separate shrank back into the shadows where they belong, and all hearts brave enough to think and tender enough to feel, found it easy to unite in homage to a life which had known a half century of struggle to lift humanity from bondage and womanhood from shame.

I have said the object of the reunion was fourfold. Aside from Mrs. Stanton and her work, its chief interest centered around the large band of pioneers composed of women who, in one line or another of helpful work, had given the best years of their lives to labors that tended to the betterment of mankind. The gathering meant for them, aside from all deeper significance, an opportunity to take one another by the hand, to look into one another's faces. Very sweet faces many of them were, too,

" Wearing marks of age and sorrow,
As the midnight wears its stars."

In the general plan of the celebration it was hoped to gather together representatives of every phase of woman's work. Lack of time would, of course, prevent elaborate records of the progress in each particular line during the last half century; but those most familiar with each department had prepared outline sketches of progress in their own especial field, and it was intended that brief abstracts from these records should be presented at the celebration.

The progress of woman along educational, reform, industrial or artistic lines has been by ways both long and hard,—how hard they only know, who, never once turning back when the road grew thorny and steep, opened the track for the later pilgrims who have followed in their steps. Through what currents of opposition, varying in speed and force, through what deserts of ignorance, over what mountains of prejudice, across what streams of adverse criticism they made their way, with little beyond the light of truth and scarcely the dream of freedom for a guide, driven by the innate longing and love for both truth and freedom, rather than by any hope of securing it, they pressed onward, with the ultimate result of a new and vital public sentiment, a new and wider outlook, new powers and possibilities, new

projects; a decided gain, in fact, on all that meant new hope for humanity because it meant new life for womankind.

And this reunion was the first general recognition, the first almost universal frank acknowledgment of the debt the present owes to the past. It was the first effort to show the extent to which later development has been inspired and made possible by the freedom to think and work, claimed in that earlier time by women like Mrs. Stanton and Miss Anthony and many others whose names stand as synonyms of noble service for the race. To those who looked at the reunion from this point of view, it could not fail of inspiration. He who stands on any height, material, intellectual or spiritual, gains strength to go higher still by a backward glance which shows him that nothing began in himself, that for every stepping-stone by the way he is a debtor to one who went before. Our whole complex problem, and our last half century of progress therein, lost nothing of dignity when, on this night of recognition, students young and old listened while the president of one of our noblest colleges for women traced eloquently the relation between present and past conditions of woman student life, proving our debt to the noble women who knew what it was in earlier days, first to plead and then to knock, and last to batter at the brazen gates of prejudice and tradition which shut them out of the knowledge they desired.

For the followers in lines of philanthropic work to look in the faces and hear the voices of women like Clara Barton and Mary Livermore; for the multitude enlisted in the crowded ranks of literature to feel in the living presence what literature owes to women like Julia Ward Howe; for the white-ribbon army to turn from its one great leader of today, whose light spreading to the horizon does not obscure or dim the glory of the crusade leaders of the past; for art lovers and art students to call to mind sculptors like Harriet Hosmer and Anna Whitney, and remember the days when art was a sealed book to women; for the followers of the truly divine art of healing to honor the Blackwell sisters and the memory of Madame Clemence Lozier; for the mercy of surgery to reveal itself in the face of Doctor Cushier, who has proved for us that heart of pity and hand of skill need never be divorced; for women lifting their eyes to meet the faces of Phoebe Hanaford and Anna Shaw and other women who today, in the pulpit as well as out of it, may use a woman's right to minister to needy souls; for the ofttime sufferers from unrighteous law to welcome women lawyers, for the throng of working women to read backward through the story of four hundred industries to their beginning in the

"four," and remember that each new door had opened because some woman toiled and strove; for all these exercises were a part of a great thanksgiving pæan, each phase of progress striking its own chord, and finding each its echo in the hearts that held it dear. It is not strange that all together were united in praise of the one great principle of human equality, which alone made progress possible in any one of their chosen fields, or that, as the pioneers in other fields grouped themselves about Mrs. Stanton, as the centre of interest and homage, they all should give her work its rightful rank, its leadership in importance and in power. How could they fail to do this when more and more is the fact emphasized that no amount of nurture, no outpouring of the rain of patronage or the sun of sympathy is going to bring fruit of freedom to a tree that has no freedom in fibre or in root. We may nurse and cherish any one branch of our good works, but if the essential life-giving principle never reaches up to our branch from the root, not only is it fruitless, but soon or late "it withereth away."

The fact needs no illustration. Justice must precede mercy; no amount of alleviation of human conditions will avail for permanent good while the giver, bestowing favor with one hand, shuts tightly in the other the key that opens all sealed doors and makes a free way for the human soul and brain to claim its birthright.

Mrs. Stanton's life and work were an utterance of a century's long-stifled demand for this essential freedom at inmost fibre and root of life; for our birthright of power to live and move and *have* our being, to *have* it for ourselves and for the best we can make of it and do with it as a part of the divine inheritance and gift of "Him in whom we live and move."

To the student of history or to him who can read the signs of the times, there was such a profound significance in this occasion as makes one shrink from dwelling too much upon the external details. Yet viewed as a pageant only, it was a most inspiring sight, and one truly worthy of a queen. Indeed, as we run the mind back over the pages of history, what queen ever came to a more triumphant throne in the hearts of a grateful people? What woman ever before sat silver-crowned, canopied with flowers, surrounded, not by servile followers, but by men and women who brought to her court the grandest service they had wrought, their best thought, crystallized in speech and song. Greater than any triumphal procession that ever marked a royal passage through a kingdom was it to know that in a score or more of cities in many a village church on that same night festive fires were lighted, and the throng kept holiday, bringing for tribute not gold and gems, but

noblest aspirations, truest gratitude and highest ideals for the nation and the race.

The great central meeting was but one link in a chain; yet with its thousands of welcoming faces, with its eloquence of words, with its offering of sweetest song from the children of a race that once was bound but is now free, with its pictured glimpses of the old time and the new time flashing out upon the night; with the home voices offering welcome and gratitude and love; with numberless greetings from the great, true, brave souls of many lands, it was indeed a wonderful tribute, worthy of the great warm heart of a nation that offered it, and worthy of the woman so revered. Her birthday ought, from this time forth, to be a day of jubilee, to mark an era in national life, a day when mothers call upon their daughters to strive for the highest and best, and upon their sons to recognize what the nation owes to womanhood.

From the suggestions of the President of the National Council of Women, the two following may be emphasized: —

Why should not this occasion [she asked] be the beginning of an era of gratitude and recognition in which, as the pioneer in one line of work or another comes to ripeness of years and service, her eightieth birthday shall be remembered, especially by those who have profited by her leadership in their own chosen field? How many such women have given time, labor, strength, and have known suffering and sacrifice, but have during a long life been unable to aid the cause they loved in more material ways. Why should not the friends of education, for example, make it possible for the one who is most truly the pioneer in that field of progress to fulfil her heart's desire, thus helping to advance some favorite branch of the work, and giving the aged leader at the same time this crowning and special joy of ability to bestow? Think how religion and philanthropy, and countless other causes, would be benefited by such birthday funds, and far more and better, how gratitude and reverence, and the sense of obligation to cherish and develop what we have, would grow and be kept alive by the memory of what our possessions cost.

And one question more [she added]. Why should not the anniversary of this eightieth birthday be made a national holiday, a day in which to rear statues to heroines as well as to heroes, a day when institutions, if to women belongs the praise of establishing, endowing or supporting them, shall be dedicated to the women? Why not a Stanton Free Library, a Barton Hospital, a Hosmer Museum of Art, an Anthony School of Citizenship, and many more, each receiving its dedication on the 12th day of November, which should evermore be known among us as the pioneer holiday, the day when the present brings its offering to the past?

If Mrs. Stanton's life had done no more than to be the inspirer of a plan like this, it would have justified the thronging crowds, the

multiplied gatherings, the glorious tribute of song from over the sea. It seemed fitting that Madame Antoinette Sterling, who, twenty years ago, took her wonderful voice away to England, where it won for her a unique place in the hearts of the nation, should, on returning to her country, give her first service to the womanhood of her native land. "I am coming a week earlier," so she had written, "that my first work in my own beloved America may be done for women. I am coming as a woman and not as an artist, and because I so glory in that which the women of my country have achieved." So when she sang out of her heart, "Oh, rest in the Lord; wait patiently for Him," no marvel that it seemed to lift all listening hearts to a recognition of the divine secret and source of power for all work, whether of women or of men.

One charming feature of entertainment was a series of pictures called "Then and Now," each illustrating the changes in woman's condition in some one particular during the last fifty years. And after this, upon the dimness, there shone out one after another, the names of noble women like Mary Lyon, Maria Mitchell, Emma Willard and many others, whose influence has been felt upon all progress, but who have passed away. Upon the shadows and the silence broke Madame Sterling's voice in Tennyson's "Crossing the Bar." And when this was over, as with one voice, the whole audience sang softly, "Auld Lang Syne."

And last, but not least, should be mentioned the greetings that poured in a shower of telegrams and letters from every section of the country and many from over the sea. These expressions, not only personal congratulation for Mrs. Stanton, but utterances of gladness for the progress in woman's life and thought, for the conditions so much better already than in the past, and for the great hope for the future, would make of themselves a most interesting and wonderful chapter, unfortunately altogether beyond the limits of our space. Among them may be mentioned letters from Lord and Lady Aberdeen, from Lady Henry Somerset and Frances E. Willard, from Canon Wilberforce and many others, including an address from thirty members of the family of John Bright, headed by his brother, the Right Honorable Jacob Bright; a beautifully engrossed address, on parchment, from the National Woman Suffrage Society of Scotland; an address from the London Women's Franchise League, and a cablegram from the Bristol, England, Women's Liberal Association; a letter from the Women's Rights Society of Finland, signed by its president, Baroness Gripenberg of Helsingfors; telegrams from the

California Suffrage Pioneers, and others from the Chicago Woman's Club; from the Toledo and Ohio Woman's Suffrage Society; from the son of the Rev. Dr. William Ellery Channing, and a telegram and letter from citizens and societies of Seneca Falls, N.Y., accompanied with flowers and a handsome piece of silver. There were letters from Hon. Oscar S. Straus, ex-minister to Turkey, Miss Ellen Terry, Prof. D. Cady Eaton of Yale University, and scores of others. An address was received from the Woman's Suffrage Association of Utah, accompanied by a beautiful oxidized silver ballot box; and from the Shaker women of Mount Lebanon came an ode.

Numerous organizations and societies, both in this country and abroad, wished to have their names placed on record as in fullest sympathy with the movement. Many organizations were present in a body, and one was reminded, by the variety and beauty of the decorations of their boxes, of the Venetian Carnival, as the occupants gazed down from amid the silken banners and the flowers, upon the throng below.

The whole occasion was, indeed, a unique festival, unique in its presentation as well as in its purpose, plan, character and spirit. No woman present could fail to be impressed with what we owe to the women of the past, and especially to this one woman who was the honored guest of the occasion. And no young woman could desire to forget the picture of this aged form, as, leaning upon her staff, Mrs. Stanton spoke to the great audience, as she has spoken hundreds of times before in legislative halls, and wherever her word could influence the popular sentiment in favor of justice and freedom for all mankind.

No words about her could be as eloquent as her own, uttered at the close of a life, the profound significance and influence of which can hardly be written. At the jubilee that will come at the end of the next half-century, when the things she dreamed of shall be living realities, the things she lived and strove for be the every-day experience, will be revealed her true place and rank among the leaders of her time.

FRATERNAL DELEGATES.

At the annual meeting of the National Council of Women of Canada held in Montreal in May, 1896, the National Council of the United States was represented by its President, Mrs. Mary Lowe Dickinson and Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, a fraternal delegate. Mrs. Louise Barnum Robbins was the other fraternal delegate appointed, but was detained at home on account of the alarming illness of a member of her family.

CHAPTER XVI.

EXECUTIVE MEETING†

OF THE

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF THE UNITED STATES.

PUBLIC SESSIONS IN

HALL OF THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION.

Corner of Boylston and Berkeley Streets, Boston, Mass.

DEC. 3, 4, 1896.

GENERAL OFFICERS OF THE COUNCIL.

Mrs. Mary Lowe Dickinson, President.

Mrs. Rev. Anna Howard Shaw, Vice-President-at-Large.

Mrs. Louise Barnum Robbins, Corresponding Secretary.

Mrs. Emeline Burlingame Cheney, 1st Recording Secretary.

Mrs. Helen Finlay Bristol, 2d Recording Secretary.

Mrs. Hannah J. Bailey, Treasurer.

FIRST BUSINESS MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, HOTEL VENDOME,
WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 2, 2.30 P.M.

PROGRAMME.

Thursday, December 3, 9.30 A.M.

THE WORK OF ORGANIZATIONS COMPOSING THE COUNCIL.

Opening Exercises.

GREETINGS AND PRESENTATIONS.

National-American Woman Suffrage Association.
Rachel Foster Avery.*

Miss Susan B. Anthony, President

National Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

Miss Frances E. Willard, President

Mrs. Susan S. Fessenden.** Miss C. R. Wendell.*

*Names of delegates.

**Names of proxies.

† Under date of Oct. 19, 1896, the Corresponding Secretary issued the call for this meeting, and preparations for the public sessions resulted in the programme herewith given.

National Free Baptist Woman's Missionary Society.	Mrs. Mary A. Davis, President
Mrs. Susan A. Porter.*	
Illinois Industrial School for Girls.	Mrs. Emma R. Wallace, President
Mrs. Margaret I. Sandes.**	
National Woman's Relief Society.	Mrs. Zina D. H. Young, President
Wimodaughsis.	Mrs. Anna Sanborn Hamilton, President
Mrs. Kate Tannatt Woods.**	
Young Ladies' National Mutual Improvement Association.	
	Mrs. Elmina S. Taylor, President
National Christian League for the Promotion of Social Purity.	
	Mrs. Elizabeth B. Grannis, President
Mrs. Marie Merrick.*	
Universal Peace Union.	Rev. Amanda Deyo, Representative
Woman's Republican Association of the United States.	Mrs. J. Ellen Foster, President
Mrs. Emily S. Chace.*	
National Association of Loyal Women of American Liberty.	
	Mrs. I. C. Manchester, President
Mrs. M. E. D. Copeland.*	
Woman's Relief Corps, Auxilliary to the Grand Army of the Republic.	
	Mrs. Agnes Hitt, President
Mrs. Emma R. Wallace.*	
National Association of Women Stenographers.	Miss Netta G. McLaughlin, President
Miss Harriett A. Shinn.*	
National Council of Jewish Women.	Mrs. Hannah G. Solomon, President
Miss Sadie American.**	
American Anti-Vivisection Society.	Mrs. Caroline Earle White, Representative
Mrs. Mary F. Lovell.*	
Florence Crittenton Missions.	Mrs. Kate Waller Barrett, Representative
Mrs. A. L. Prindle.*	
Supreme Hive Ladies of the Maccabees of the World.	Mrs. Lillian M. Hollister, President
Miss Bina M. West.*	

Friday, December 4, 9.30 A.M.

WORK OF LOCAL COUNCILS AND STANDING COMMITTEES.

LOCAL COUNCILS.

Indianapolis	Mrs. Flora Sullivan Wulschner, President
Mrs. Elizabeth Vinton Pierce.**	Mrs. Katherine Huntington Day.*
Quincy, Ill.	Dr. Abby Fox-Rooney, President
Portland, Me.	Mrs. Margaret T. W. Merrill, President
Mrs. Augusta M. Hunt.**	

STANDING COMMITTEES.

Domestic Science	Mrs. Helen Campbell, Chairman
Divorce Reform	Mrs. Helen H. Gardener, Chairman
Equal Pay for Equal Work	Miss Mary Desha, Chairman
Patriotic Instruction	Mrs. Kate Brownlee Sherwood, Chairman
Illustrative Exercises, Flag Drill, etc., conducted by Mrs. Lue Stuart Wadsworth.	
Dress	Mrs. Annie White Johnson, Chairman

* Names of delegates; ** of proxies.

Friday, December 4, 7.45 P.M.

WORK OF DEPARTMENTS.

Greetings from Her Excellency the Countess of Aberdeen, President of the International Council of Women.

The National Council of Canada. Mrs. Willoughby Cummings, Corresponding Secretary.

Address—Expansion of the Council Idea Abroad { **Mrs. May Wright Sewall, Secretary**
(Councils of Germany, England, France, Switzer- Department of Foreign Relations,
land, Italy, Belgium, New Zealand and New South Vice-President-at-Large of the In-
Wales). ternational Council.

Address—The Golden Rule and the Golden Age, { **Frances E. Willard, President World's**
and National W.C.T.U.

Address—Woman's Progress and Human Progress, { **Mrs. J. Ellen Foster, President Woman's**
Republican Association

Department of Art and Literature Mrs. Frances E. Bagley, Secretary

Department of Moral Reform Mrs. Lillian M. N. Stevens, Secretary

Department of Social Economics Mrs. Isabella Charles Davis, Secretary

Department of the Home Rachel Foster Avery, Secretary

Address—Education in Citizenship Mrs. Kate Brownlee Sherwood

Department of Religion Mrs. Mary Newbury Adams, Secretary

Address—Religious Progress as Influenced by Woman Rev. Anna H. Shaw

MINUTES OF THE MEETING
OF THE
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

HELD AT HOTEL VENDOME, BOSTON, MASS., DEC. 2, 3 AND 4, 1896.

Dec. 2, 1896, 2.30 o'clock P.M.

The meeting was called to order by the President, Mrs. Mary Lowe Dickinson, in the chair, who requested a few moments of silent prayer. After which the President said:

"Let me take a moment of your time to express to all present the great gratification of the Chair at seeing so many of those who should be here, and the great satisfaction we all feel in coming together after this long interval in which many of us have not seen the faces of the others. I am sure, too, that in conveying my own satisfaction in meeting here, I express for you all a most earnest hope that the meetings may be productive of great good for the work lying so near to the heart of every one of us."

The President announced that she had received a message from Mrs. Emeline Burlingame Cheney, First Recording Secretary, saying that sudden illness prevented her attendance. Mrs. Isabella Charles Davis was appointed Acting Recording Secretary.

Those present and arriving later, were:

Mrs. Mary Lowe Dickinson, President, New York City; Rev. Anna Howard Shaw, Vice-President, Philadelphia, Pa.; Mrs. Louise Barnum Robbins, Corresponding Secretary, Adrian, Mich.; Mrs. Hannah J. Bailey, Treasurer, Winthrop Centre, Me.

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

Miss Susan B. Anthony, President, Rochester, N.Y.

Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, Delegate, Boston, Mass.

NATIONAL WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION.

Mrs. Lillian M. N. Stevens, Proxy of President, Stroudwater, Me.

Mrs. Susan S. Fessenden, Delegate, Massachusetts.

NATIONAL FREE BAPTIST WOMAN'S MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

Mrs. Mary A. Davis, President, Arlington, R.I.

Mrs. Susan A. Porter, Delegate, Peabody, Mass.

ILLINOIS INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL FOR GIRLS (National Charter).

Mrs. Margaret I Sandes, Proxy of President, Chicago, Ill.

WIMODAUGHSIS.

Mrs. Kate Tannatt Woods, Proxy of President, Salem, Mass.

NATIONAL CHRISTIAN LEAGUE FOR THE PROMOTION OF SOCIAL PURITY.

Mrs. Elizabeth B. Grannis, President, New York City.

Mrs. Maria Gordon Arnold, Delegate, New York City.

UNIVERSAL PEACE UNION.

Mrs. Ida Whipple Benham, Delegate, Mystic, Conn.

WOMAN'S REPUBLICAN ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES.

Mrs. J. Ellen Foster, President, Washington, D.C.

Mrs. Emily S. Chace, Delegate, East Greenwich, R.I.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF LOYAL WOMEN OF AMERICAN LIBERTY.

Mrs. I. C. Manchester, President, Providence, R.I.

Mrs. M. E. D. Copeland, Delegate, Boston, Mass.

WOMAN'S RELIEF CORPS, AUXILIARY TO THE GRAND ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC.

Mrs. Agnes Hitt, President, Indianapolis, Ind.

Mrs. Emma R. Wallace, Delegate, Chicago, Ill.

AMERICAN ANTI-VIVISECTION SOCIETY.

Mrs. Caroline Earle White, Representative, Philadelphia, Pa.

Mrs. Mary F. Lovell, Delegate, Bryn Mawr, Pa.

FLORENCE CRITTENTON MISSIONS.

Mrs. A. L. Prindle, Proxy of Representative.

SUPREME HIVE LADIES OF THE MACCABEES OF THE WORLD.

Mrs. Lillian M. Hollister, President, Detroit, Mich.

LOCAL COUNCILS.**LOCAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF INDIANAPOLIS, IND.**

Mrs. Elizabeth Vinton Pierce, Delegate, Indianapolis, Ind.

LOCAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF PORTLAND, ME.

Mrs. Augusta M. Hunt, Proxy of President, Portland, Me.

MEMBERS OF THE CABINET.

Mrs. May Wright Sewall, Secretary of Department of Foreign Relations, Indianapolis, Ind.

Mrs. Lillian M. N. Stevens, Secretary of Department of Moral Reform, Stroudwater, Me.

Mrs. Isabella Charles Davis, Secretary of Department of Social Economics, New York City.

Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, Secretary of Department of the Home, Philadelphia, Pa.

CHAIRMEN OF STANDING COMMITTEES.

Mrs. Annie White Johnson, Chairman, Committee on Dress, Chicago, Ill.

Mrs. Helen H. Gardener, Chairman, Committee on Divorce Reform, Boston, Mass.

Mrs. Kate Brownlee Sherwood, Chairman, Committee on Patriotic Instruction, Canton, O.

Mrs. Helen Campbell, Chairman, Committee on Domestic Science.

Mrs. Mary E. Boyce, Chairman, Committee on the Press, New York.

The Minutes of the meeting of the Executive Committee held at Atlanta, Oct. 12, 1895, were read, corrected and approved.

The Treasurer, Mrs. Hannah J. Bailey, submitted her report as follows:

*Report of the Treasurer.*HANNAH J. BAILEY, TREASURER, in account with NATIONAL COUNCIL
OF WOMEN OF THE UNITED STATES.

1895	Dr.	
Oct. 30.	To Balance on hand last report	\$36 20
	Cash received, membership fees:—	
	National Woman's Relief Society	\$33 35
	National American Woman Suffrage Association	100 00
	National Association of Women Stenographers	33 33
	Young Ladies' National Mutual Improvement Association	66 70
	Woman's Relief Corps, Auxiliary to the G.A.R.	100 00
	National Woman's Christian Temperance Union	33 33
	National Free Baptist Woman's Missionary Society	33 00
		<u>399 71</u>
	Cash received, Patron fees:—	
	Emma S. Howard	\$100 00
	Olivia B. Hall	100 00
	Thomas G. Lawler, by Department of Illinois, Woman's Relief Corps	100 00
		<u>300 00</u>
	Cash received, donations:—	
	National Woman's Relief Society	\$5 00
	Frances E. Willard	25 00
	Mary Newbury Adams	5 00
	Anna C. Mott	25 00
		<u>60 00</u>
	Total	<u>\$795 91</u>

Cr.

By Cash paid, account of :—

Jennette M. H. Bradley, express on bannets to Atlanta .	\$ 2 85
Alfred J. Ferris, printing	6 50
E. B. Stillings & Co , stationery and printing	39 75
C. C and F. C. Clough, printing	24 00
Laura Crevoise, secretary in office of Corresponding Secretary	41 67
Louise Barnum Robbins, Corresponding Secretary, clerical help, postage, supplies, telegrams, etc.	158 00
Rachel Foster Avery, on note	100 00
Mary Lowe Dickinson, President, postage, printing, expressage, etc.	66 00
Mary Lowe Dickinson, President, expenses Atlanta meeting	228 20
Nicolas M. Shaw, expenses Atlanta meeting	57 79
Total Expenditures	\$724 76
Balance on hand	71 15
Total	\$795 91

/ Respectfully submitted,

HANNAH J. BAILEY,

Treasurer.

BOSTON, Mass., Dec. 2, 1896.

The President: "The next thing in order would be the reports of the standing committees, and if I may be allowed, I would like to make a statement. On looking over the records and minutes of the Council from its beginning down, I realized how little opportunity was really given in these business meetings for such reports of standing committee work as would create new interest. Influenced also by the repeated statement in the correspondence, that one of the reasons for an organization entering the National Council is, that they should secure for themselves and their special work larger audiences than they could otherwise secure, and finding in letters from the standing committees that there was a feeling that too little opportunity was given for expression of their work, to be likely to deepen the interest therein, at your executive meeting in Washington it was voted that at every annual business meeting, there should be one public session. The officers decided to put the reports of organizations and of standing committees into public sessions. Therefore we made three instead of one public session, thus leaving the Executive Committee more time for the discussion of business. Therefore, the Programme Committee, in preparing the programme, carried over into the public sessions the reports of the organizations and the reports of the standing commit-

tees, and perhaps we should ask you to adopt this programme, subject to such changes as may be necessary by absence or other circumstances, thus confirming the action of the officers. I would be glad of an expression in regard to the acceptance of the programme, as arranged for the public meetings."

On motion of Mrs. Sewall, seconded by Miss Anthony, the programme, as arranged for the public meetings, was adopted, subject to such changes as might be necessary.

The President: "Carrying over, then, the reports of standing committees, we pass on to the consideration of reports of special committees. The one in order is the report upon the Stanton celebration, — the pioneer reunion that took place on the eightieth birthday of Mrs. Stanton. Miss Anthony was the chairman of the committee."

Miss Anthony: "I want to say that, as usual, Miss Anthony shirked the responsibility and had a lieutenant to do the work, and that is Mrs. Dickinson, who launched the work almost single handed and alone; so I hope you will call on Mrs. Dickinson to give the report of — my work."

Upon the request of the President, the Vice-President took the chair, that the President might present her report upon the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Birthday Celebration.

Mrs. Kate Brownlee Sherwood: "If a motion would be in order before you proceed with special reports, I wish to offer one. I want this meeting to place itself on record in this way — and I move that the cordial thanks of the Executive Committee be extended to the general officers for their efforts to discharge the indebtedness of the National Council and for their personal sacrifices to that end, particularly to the President, who has borne such a heavy financial burden."

The motion was seconded by several.

After the motion was stated by the Chair, Mrs. Sherwood said: "I would say, in offering this motion, that I personally know how difficult it has been for the officers, and particularly for the President, to go on with a work of such magnitude with any degree — I was going to say, with any degree of good heart and courage, but we know that the President has such a superabundance of this that she could not be discouraged, — and we know how much more difficult it is to carry on any work, even that of housekeeping, when the treasury is not in good condition. Extra duties were placed upon this administration, and it has only been by great personal sacrifices that they have been performed. The President and Corresponding Secretary have not had as much clerical help as they have needed,

because of the difficulty in paying for it. I do not know how generally this condition of affairs should be understood, but so far as possible I want it understood here, that the President and Corresponding Secretary and other officers of the Council have great and extraordinary burdens to bear, that they have borne them nobly, and that we owe them special thanks for all they have done."

The President: "I am always grateful for anything which takes me out of the chair. But for the moment I am sorry, for however appreciative I may be of all these kindly words, I think I could have prevented their being said had I been in the chair. Before any action is taken on the motion submitted by Mrs. Sherwood, it is only right for me to say that when I undertook the work of this Council, I took it in the genuine belief that every woman who had any relation to it would gladly sacrifice to it, and in any sacrifice that has fallen to my share, I feel that I have done only that which any one of you all would have done, and no further thanks are due to me. The same spirit that is in us all recognizes the fact that this is one of the greatest and grandest works that the womanhood of the world has ever conceived. And in a sense, though it has been an outgrowth and we have here before us much of the secret and source of the conception,—I believe it is the grandest conception of woman's life and woman's work that has found its way to the light. It is in its childhood; it has not adjusted itself; it needs to be nursed and cared for, and those of us who see how it has been carried in the arms and in the hearts of those women who carried it in the past, and decline to carry it in our arms and hearts, would be very unworthy of their example. I am very grateful to you but beyond that I do not think anything further should be said about it."

The Vice-President: "I for one certainly disagree with the President in the position she has taken that she has not made more sacrifice than the most of us; for I think it is the rare woman who would have worked so cheerfully and made us all feel we were doing something to help her when we knew we were not doing anything to help."

The motion was then unanimously carried.

Mrs. Dickinson, the President, then gave the report on the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Birthday Celebration, the Reunion of Pioneers, by reading a report of that notable occasion prepared by herself and published in *The Arena*, under the title "A Half Century of Progress." (This report will be found on pages 265-272.)

The President also made a financial statement as follows: "One hates to come down to the money of it, and yet, knowing that this com-

mittee report must properly be given at this time, knowing also that the money raised for this occasion was not, in a certain sense, money belonging to the National Council of Women of the United States, was not properly part of the treasury of that organization, was given for this special work and for no other,— it has been held distinct, and I would like to say in regard to the expenditures for this occasion, that its financial report has been in the hands of expert auditors. And in submitting the report of this occasion and its cost, we gladly pass over into the keeping of those who are to hold the records, every voucher, every item of expenditure, everything that can by any means touch the interest of that occasion. I question whether you will care to hear this financial report in detail, and yet I have had communications enough to make you patient if I give you a clear idea of it. We had no special treasurer appointed — Miss Anthony never appointed one — but there was a woman near enough at hand to be willing to undertake its functions, and she acted practically as treasurer of the committee. Every dollar she got into her hands she ran away and put in the bank, in order that we might have the interest which it would gain, and I am glad to say that we have \$5.24 in interest from the amounts put in the bank.

The receipts were \$2,750, and of the amounts donated by organizations in the Council and by local organizations which were direct branches of the national organizations, the Suffrage Association gave more than any other one. Perhaps the chairman of the committee knows something about that, but I know she would not like me to tell you how many people she wrote to and how hard she tried to make this great celebration pay its expenses.

Of course we sold a great many tickets, and when people had ceased to laugh at us and believed we were going to gather together quite a respectable company of women — but wondered what we were going to get them together for with nobody to talk to them but women — and began to think there might be something there that they would be interested in, they began to buy tickets. But when the time came there were 1,800 tickets with nobody to buy. Then we went to work; this is the educational part of our work. We said, they are going to be distributed where they will tell as an educational force among women. And we picked out among the great stores those who knew the women employed, and asked them to select a hundred women who were thoughtful and would like a better education — those who have not come in touch with this great movement. Then we took the public school teachers, finding those whom the principals said could not afford

to buy many tickets. And we went to labor organizations, and thus the 1,800 tickets which we could not sell were, I believe, the best investment we made in this entire work. Some dear souls said, "It is true they filled the house, but they gave away all their tickets." It was not true that we gave away all our tickets, but I believe that work was the grandest we did, and we helped those people to fill their hearts and minds. If there could be gathered up the incidents in connection with this, it would make a most interesting volume.

The amounts were paid out by check, and of course this makes a record that stands so that anybody, at any time, can know where the money went, with the exception of \$200, which was paid out in small cash amounts, where it was difficult to deal with checks, but bills for which will be found among the vouchers.

We paid nearly \$1,000 to Mrs. Stanton for her birthday fund. We paid \$600 for the Opera House. We paid for music, but we had a good deal of it and it was good. We had colored children, who sang their song of freedom so that it went to our hearts.

The printing was \$149, and there was a good deal of clerical work in connection with an affair like that, as you can easily judge.

When it was over we had a balance to come into the Council treasury of \$112.23.

And then the question came up of how this thing could be perpetuated and we have a book of it, or make a little story which could be passed down to the children, and we could not get any more money for that, because everybody who cared about this had gone to everybody who could be made to care. But we did get enough to put into the hands of the editor of the *Woman's Tribune* of Washington, all this matter to be printed and to be practically on hand, waiting for the day when the literature of this century shall be written, and shall show not only this external influence, but the spiritual significance of this great movement. And by the time we got through with the *Tribune* and that matter, we had used up all our \$112, and then we were in trouble again, because we found some people who had made donations, had made sacrifices, and we began to try to pay back the money, so that they should not say we had got everything we could out of everybody. And I who had said it would be a happy day when I should go before this Board and say we had paid all expenses, have to say that we did not pay expenses by a little over \$300, but when I tell you that there were people so interested that they said it should never cost the National Council one penny — it should be a matter of heart and love and inspiration — and there were found friends enough to clear off the

debt, and I can say to you that this occasion did not cost the National Council of Women one cent, I know you will forgive me for making a long report."

Mrs. Sewall: "It is a happy thing that the President is still out of the chair, and so cannot prevent the motion I am about to make. It is sometimes with shame that I confess my innate love for pageantry and poetry in life, but it is with pleasure that I recognize this in myself today by my appreciation of the beautiful report to which we have listened. I felt when we were engaged in the celebration of Mrs. Stanton's birthday, that we were looking at a great painting which would vanish before any artist's brush could fix it upon canvas. As I have listened to the report, and the features of the picture have been brought before me again, I have not listened with such insensibility or with such selfishness that I am at all willing to have this report simply adopted and filed. I do not care what the state of the treasury is, — you know I never did care, — or whatever money may be in it or not in it at the present moment, my motion will include an expenditure of funds, for I move the adoption of this report, with grateful recognition of its beauty and of its truthfulness to the picture our eyes saw, but which our tongues have been too feeble to transmit, so that people have thought we were talking from our own fancies; and the newspapers were so inadequate to the occasion and even two or three numbers of the *Woman's Tribune*, the picture being presented in sections, were inadequate for the reproduction of that occasion; and so in moving the grateful adoption of that report, I wish to add to the motion a resolution that this report be printed. I move its adoption and also the appointment of a committee to take in charge its immediate printing."

The adoption of the motion was earnestly favored by Miss Anthony, Mrs. J. Ellen Foster, the Vice-President and others, and unanimously carried.

The President resumed the chair, and on motion of the Treasurer, it was voted to hold a business session Thursday evening, December 8, convening at 7.30 o'clock.

On motion of Miss Anthony the meeting adjourned.

SECOND SESSION 7.30 P.M., THURSDAY, DEC. 3, 1896.

The President in the chair called the meeting to order.

An outline of the minutes of the previous meeting was presented, the full minutes not being ready. On motion the minutes were approved with such corrections and amendments as the proper production of the report demanded.

The Chairman of the Committee on Credentials, Mrs. Louise Barnum Robbins, submitted the following, which was adopted :

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS.

To the Executive Committee of the National Council of Women of the United States.

Your Committee on Credentials beg to report that the number of representatives entitled to vote is thirty-eight; the number of representatives present entitled to vote is twenty-four; the number of Patrons present is thirteen; the number of representatives of Local Councils of Women present is two; the number of members of the Cabinet present is four; the number of chairmen of standing committees present is four.

Respectfully submitted,

LOUISE BARNUM ROBBINS,
Chairman Committee on Credentials.

The President stated that Mrs. Emily White Johnson, the Chairman of the Committee on Dress, desired to present some points in her report to the executive session, rather than to the public meeting. On motion of Mrs. May Wright Sewall, the Chairman presented said report of the Committee on Dress.

On motion of Mrs. Sewall, seconded by Mrs. Avery and amended by Mrs. Stevens, the report was adopted with the provision that the financial consideration involved in the report be referred to the general officers, with the recommendation that they shall, as far as possible, comply with the request for the appropriation, and that also the general officers be empowered to provide for the legitimate expenses of all standing committees as far as possible.

Miss Anthony stated that the fiftieth anniversary of the National Woman's Suffrage Association would be held in Washington in February, 1898, and requested discussion upon the proposition of the Council holding its third triennial either before, or after, the Suffrage

meeting, in consideration of railroad rates and the convenience of one journey for some who would attend both meetings. On motion of Mrs. Sewall, the general officers of the Council were instructed to confer with the officers of the Suffrage Association who are charged with deciding upon the dates of the meeting of that body in 1898, before setting the dates for the triennial meeting of the Council, that all points pro and con should be carefully considered.

The President presented Mrs. Willoughby Cummings of Toronto, Ontario, the Corresponding Secretary of, and fraternal delegate from the National Council of Women of Canada. Mrs. Cummings was warmly welcomed and responded with interesting remarks upon their own special lines of work. At the public meeting that morning Mrs. Cummings extended on behalf of the National Council of Canada, and in the name of its President, the Countess of Aberdeen, a cordial invitation to the Council to send fraternal delegates to their annual meeting to be held in Halifax in June, 1897.*

Mrs. Hannah J. Bailey, the Treasurer, made a financial statement and requested that some plan be devised for securing funds with which to liquidate the debt and carry forward the work of the Council.

Miss Anthony said regarding the debt: "I want all who have come into the Council recently to understand that this debt was incurred in carrying out one of the most stupendous undertakings the world has ever seen; and that was in carrying forward the tremendous effort of the World's Congress of Representative Women during the World's Fair. It was a meeting which made woman's work and advancement known to the world as never before, and it seems to me we ought all of us to be willing to put our shoulders to the wheel and lift the Council's financial burden which came through the work done by the Council for the Congress, and in the hospitality extended to the foreign representatives. It was not through any work that should not have been done, and if it had not been for Mrs. Avery and Mrs. Sewall advancing their own money, there would have been no Congress of Representative Women.

Mrs. Sewall: "I have reason to thank Miss Anthony for stating the circumstances under which the debt was made. And if I were to do it over again I should incur a greater debt than that. I believe in living within one's means, but there are things better than absolutely balanced financial accounts. I shall speak with absolute freedom — if Mrs. Avery and I had felt that spending within the limits of the

* Mrs. May Wright Sewall and Mrs. Louise Barnum Robbins were appointed the delegates. Mrs. Sewall attended, but Mrs. Robbins was detained at home by illness, much to her regret.

treasury was the thing we had to do, there would have been no National Council of Women; there would have been no International Council. It is all the outcome of a debt. I consider any personal indulgence, any extravagance that goes beyond one's means is a crime, but I believe the things most nobly and generously done in this world have been done through incurring debt, from the starting out of Columbus. In going into this, Mrs. Avery and myself did not involve the Council in debt to anybody but ourselves."

Pending the discussion the following pledges were made to be donated or secured towards liquidating the old debt: Miss Susan B. Anthony, Rev. Anna Howard Shaw, Mrs. Louise Barnum Robbins, Miss Amanda M. Lougee, \$100 each. Mrs. May Wright Sewall and Mrs. J. Ellen Foster, \$50 each.

The Treasurer said: "I am authorized to say to you, by some one who does not want her name mentioned, that \$500 will be added to the subscription started by you. This reduces the old debt to \$800."

The President announced the next order of business the consideration of matters in connection with the International Council of Women. Mrs. Sewall, Vice-President-at-Large of the International Council, said: "You know that although the International Council of Women was organized in Washington in 1888, at the time that the National Council of Women of the United States was organized, — that the International Council is made up of National Councils of Women, and that at the time of its organization, the National Council of the United States was the only National Council in existence, and hence could be the only member then eligible to the International Council, and that the International Council really had its existence in the life of this Council, — yet this Council has never formally entered the International Council, and we shall now enter third or fourth. The National Council of Women of Germany was the first one to enter."

On motion of the Treasurer, Mrs. Hannah J. Bailey, seconded by Mrs. Lillian M. N. Stevens, it was resolved that the National Council of Women of the United States should proceed to formally enter the International Council of Women.

Mrs. Sewall stated that the Countess of Aberdeen, President of the International Council of Women, desired this meeting to consider and act upon certain points which were submitted in memorandum issued by the general officers of the International Council as follows: —

First. That in effect, the National Councils shall endorse the proposition made by the officers of the International Council, that, in making

arrangements for the meetings of the International Council, no woman shall be put upon the programme who is not approved by the National Council of the country to which she belongs.

Second. That all subjects to be discussed before the International Council shall be submitted, at least three months prior to the holding of the quinquennial session, to the general officers of the International Council, that they may be properly considered, so that no subject likely to involve the women of the country in which the Council is held in any difficulty, shall be brought before the Council.

Third. That names proposed for the programme, together with the subjects suggested for discussion, must receive the approval of the officers of the National Council of the country in which the quinquennial session is convened.

On motion of Mrs. Sewall, seconded by Mrs. Louise Barnum Robbins, the memorandum, the substance of which is above set forth, was adopted.

On motion of Mrs. Emily S. Chace, seconded by Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, the appointment of a delegate to represent the National Council of Women of the United States in the meeting of the Committee of Arrangements of the International Council of Women to be held in London in July, 1897, was placed in the hands of the general officers.*

On motion of Mrs. Sewall, supported by Mrs. Kate Brownlee Sherwood, the name of the Committee on Patriotic Instruction was changed to Committee on Education in Citizenship.

The President stated that she had received from the Committee on Divorce Reform a request to be discharged, and, on motion of Mrs.

*Mrs. Louise Barnum Robbins, the Corresponding Secretary, was duly appointed the delegate, and, appreciating the high honor and great responsibility, she accepted the appointment and received her credentials. Early in June and shortly before her proposed departure for Halifax and England, her health was such that it was considered unsafe for her to undertake so long a journey.

The President, Mrs. Dickinson, just convalescing from a critical illness, had made Mrs. Robbins also her proxy for the meeting of the Executive Committee of the International Council. With both trusts in hand Mrs. Robbins doubly regretted her inability to represent the Council in England, and desires to place upon record here her high sense of the honor conferred upon her, and her sorrow in failing to fulfil the obligations laid upon her by the Council.

At once an appointment was sent to Mrs. Lillian M. N. Stevens, who was in England, with the hope that she would remain to attend the meeting, but her engagements were such that it was impossible for her to do so. Hence the Council had no representative at the business meeting of the International Council of 1897.

Sewall, the members of the Committee on Divorce Reform were discharged.

The President stated that an invitation had been received from the Mayor of Nashville, from the President of the Tennessee Centennial Exposition and from the Woman's Board of the Centennial Exposition for the Council to hold its annual meeting in Nashville under the auspices of the Tennessee Centennial and International Exposition.

On motion of Mrs. Sewall, supported by Mrs. Hollister, Mrs. Stevens and Mrs. Sherwood, it was resolved that the invitation be gratefully acknowledged, and the final decision upon its acceptance be left to the general officers.

On motion of Mrs. Stevens the meeting adjourned to meet on the call of the President.

THIRD SESSION, 3 P.M., FRIDAY, DEC. 4, 1896.

Rev. Anna Howard Shaw, Vice-President-at-Large, called the meeting to order.

Mrs. Louise Barnum Robbins, Corresponding Secretary, proposed the following resolution and moved its adoption :

Resolved, That provision be made for a contributor's list to be composed of persons who contribute a certain amount annually to the advancement of the work of the National Council of Women, and that the general officers be empowered to formulate a plan for the establishment of such a list.

Mrs. Robbins, in speaking to the motion, said in substance that the time has arrived when provision must be made for replenishing the treasury if the great interests of the Council are to be advanced, and also that some plan should be devised whereby more persons can become associated individually, in some relation, with the Council. That she believed that there are many people who would, with these ends in view, contribute some amount annually, say five dollars or upwards. That such contributors should be recognized as supporters of the Council and that they should be privileged to be present at the business meetings, though not to participate, and also to receive all printed reports and documents. That such a list of contributors would be an honored list, and could not fail to prove of high value to the Council by securing the personal interest and sympathy of people who desire the advancement of such measures as the Council advocates.

Mrs. Stevens, Mrs. Hannah J. Bailey, Miss Anthony and Mrs. J. Ellen Foster spoke in favor of the resolution which was adopted.

On motion of Mrs. Lillian M. N. Stevens seconded by Mrs. J. Ellen Foster, it was voted that a committee on the revision of the Constitution and on the drafting of by-laws be composed of the general officers and such other persons as they may call to their aid, and that the report of this committee should be submitted to the third triennial meeting of the Council.

On motion of Mrs. Stevens all unfinished business was left to the general officers.

The Chair declared the meeting adjourned *sine die*.

COURTESIES.

Mr. and Mrs. Charles W. Bond, Patrons of the Council, gave a reception in honor of the National Council of Women, at their elegant residence on Commonwealth Avenue, on Thursday, December 3. A large and brilliant gathering of Boston's distinguished women assembled, and the occasion was a handsome compliment to the guests in whose honor it was held. It was as enjoyable as it was elegant.

On the afternoon of Friday, December 4, the officers and representatives of the National Council held a reception in the Banquet Hall at the Hotel Vendome, which was attended by a large and distinguished throng of citizens, from the highest literary, social, philanthropic, religious and official circles, both city and State. It was a notable greeting and a high tribute to the National Council of Women.

The Department of Massachusetts Woman's Relief Corps tendered a reception on Wednesday evening, December 2, at Berkeley Hall, in honor of the National President of the Woman's Relief Corps, Mrs. Agnes Hitt. The President, Mrs. Mary Lowe Dickinson, the Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. Louise Barnum Robbins, the Chairman of the Committee on Patriotic Instruction, Mrs. Kate Brownlee Sherwood, and other leading members of the Council participated, standing in the receiving line and making addresses. Prominent representatives of the Grand Army of the Republic were in attendance from all parts of the State. There were cordial greetings and a wonderful display of the spirit of patriotism in speech, music and decorations, all of which were worthy of the hearty hospitality and the staunch love of country which have

made the Bay State famous. It was a notable occasion and one long to be remembered by those who were the happy recipients of its courtesies and of its patriotic baptism.

On Monday, December 7, the officers of the Department of Massachusetts Woman's Relief Corps gave a luncheon at Hotel Savoy which was attended by several officials of the Council. The affair was elegant in all its appointments, and the speeches made were marked examples of oratory, high thought and generous appreciation. It was a most delightful courtesy, and again proved the generous hospitality and broad spirit of the members of Massachusetts Woman's Relief Corps

All present regretted that the President of the National Council had been compelled to decline at a late hour on account of illness. Her greetings were presented by the Corresponding Secretary, who also expressed, on behalf of the Council, its appreciation of the many courtesies extended by the Woman's Relief Corps of Massachusetts during the Council's visit in Boston.

Another courtesy which should be mentioned was the excursion to Salem on Tuesday, December 8, upon the invitation of Phil Sheridan Relief Corps. The guests were received by a committee and escorted in carriages to all the old historic places which render Salem so interesting. The day was spent in this pilgrimage and terminated in a banquet and a reception held at the delightful home of Mrs. Emma B. Lowd, Past Department President of Massachusetts W.R.C.

This was a red-letter day for the Council members who remained to accept its courtesies and to come under the spell of a day in Salem.

THE RESIGNATION OF THE PRESIDENT.

Near the close of the year 1896, Mrs. Mary Lowe Dickinson, President of the National Council, was prostrated by a serious illness, but recovered sufficiently to proceed to Washington in February, 1897, for the purpose of fulfilling an engagement to deliver an address before the National Congress of Mothers.

While in Washington she grew rapidly ill, and was destined to pass through a prolonged and critical illness which left her incapacitated

for carrying forward the duties of her office. Hence the following communication was sent to the Vice-President-at-Large and to the Corresponding Secretary.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT,
230 W. 59th STREET, NEW YORK CITY.

MAY 5, 1897.

To the Members of the Executive Committee of the National Council of Women of the United States.

It is with profound sorrow that I feel forced to state to the members of the Executive Board of the National Council of Women of the United States, that the condition of my health has rendered me absolutely unable to further prosecute the duties of my office, as President of the Council's official board.

In view of this incapacity, I am convinced that justice to the Council's interest demands my resignation, which is hereby tendered, and the acceptance of which I trust may be granted at the earliest convenient date.

The accompanying statement may enable my co-workers to better understand my reasons for this decision.

With sincerest appreciation of the kind co-operation of the Executive Board and warmest personal regard for each member, I am,

Most sincerely,

MARY LOWE DICKINSON.

The Corresponding Secretary, in compliance with the request of the President, forwarded a copy of the resignation to the members of the Executive Committee. The resignation, in transmittal, was accompanied by a letter and statement from Vice-President Shaw, and a communication from Corresponding Secretary Robbins regarding the situation.

The members of the Executive Committee were requested to forward to the office of the Corresponding Secretary their votes, "Yes or No," upon acceptance of the President's resignation, and upon a proposition submitted by the Vice-President to postpone the third triennial meeting of the Council to 1899. Upon the reception of the replies to these communications, it was found that the Executive Committee had voted not to accept the resignation, and in favor of the postponement of the triennial to 1899. Warmest sympathy was expressed for the President in her illness, and high appreciation of her leadership, and urgent requests were made that she would continue to hold her office, all pledging loyal support to her and to all the general officers, and urging the Vice-President to relieve the President as far as possible.

Her own high sense of obligation and responsibility, and her desire to be faithful even unto death, induced the President to yield to the wishes of her associates for a time.

Upon the request of the President the Vice-President assumed charge of the preparations for the meeting of the Council to be held at Nashville in October, under the auspices of the Woman's Board of the Tennessee Centennial and International Exposition. A Committee on Programme was appointed with the Vice-President as chairman, and preparations went rapidly forward which resulted in the programme which is reproduced in the following chapter.

As far as possible the President was relieved of all care and responsibility in the Council during the summer, and it was devoutly hoped by her associates and friends that her health would be restored, so that she could again assume control of the high interests so near her heart, and to which she had given such self-sacrificing devotion in the office she signally graced and honored, and for which she was eminently fitted by great personal influence, by culture, training and rare endowments of mind and heart. But this earnest hope was not realized, and in the autumn, under the stress of continued illness and serious prostration, she felt compelled, against her own wishes, to insist upon the acceptance of her resignation, as she despaired of being able to carry forward the work of the Council in accordance with her ideas of leadership and its demands.

Hence this sad and important question confronted the meeting of the Executive Committee in October at Nashville, and was considered with warm expressions of appreciation of the President's exalted services, with solicitude for her impaired health, and with loyalty to the interests of the Council. The gravity of the circumstances and the overwhelming necessity of the situation demanded a compliance with the President's urgent request to be relieved of the office whose duties she could no longer perform, and the action taken thereon is recorded in the minutes of the executive meeting in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XVII.

MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
OF THE
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF THE UNITED STATES.
UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE
WOMAN'S BOARD OF THE TENNESSEE CENTENNIAL EXPOSITION,
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE,
WOMAN'S BUILDING, Oct. 25, 26, 27 and 28, 1897.

GENERAL OFFICERS OF THE COUNCIL.

Mrs. MARY LOWE DICKINSON, <i>President</i>	New York, N.Y.
Rev. ANNA HOWARD SHAW, <i>Vice-President-at-Large</i>	Philadelphia, Pa.
Mrs. LOUISE BARNUM ROBBINS, <i>Corresponding Secretary</i>	Adrian, Mich.
Mrs. EMELINE BURLINGAME CHENEY, <i>First Recording Secretary</i>	Lewiston, Me.
Mrs. HELEN FINLAY BRISTOL, <i>Second Recording Secretary</i>	Quincy, Ill.
Mrs. HANNAH J. BAILEY, <i>Treasurer</i>	Winthrop Centre, Me.

PROGRAMME.

For the Annual Executive Session of the National Council of Women of the United States, Oct. 25, 26, 27 and 28, 1897, Nashville, Tennessee.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 25, 9.30 A.M.

Meeting of the Executive.

(Open only to officers of the National Council, Presidents and Delegates of the National organizations, and of Local Councils affiliated with the National Council, members of the Cabinet, and Patrons.)

PROGRAMME FOR BUSINESS MEETING.

Five minutes: Roll-call of Organizations and Local Councils affiliated with the National Council.

Five minutes: Minutes of last Executive Session read by the Recording Secretary.

Five minutes: Annual Financial statement by the Treasurer.

DISCUSSION UPON THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS:

- (1) "Shall the next Triennial sit in two houses?"
- (2) "Upon what basis of representation may Councils embracing two or more States be admitted into the National Council?"
- (3) "Shall the National Council employ an organizer for constant work in the field in organizing Local Councils?"
- (4) "Shall a Committee on Information be formed, whose function it shall be to correspond with the officers of National Associations not yet affiliated with the Council, to the end that an opportunity may be secured to communicate information respecting the Council to such Associations?"

Afternoon Session, 2 o'clock.

Formal opening of the Council.

Five minutes: Silent prayer.

Meeting called to order by Mrs. Van Leer Kirkman, President of the Woman's Department of the Tennessee Centennial and International Exposition.

Five minutes: Address of welcome by the Vice-President for East Tennessee, Miss Mary Bass Temple.

Five minutes: Response by the Vice-President-at-Large of the Council, Rev. Anna Howard Shaw.

Five minutes: Announcement of local arrangements made by Convocation Committee of the Woman's Department of the Tennessee Centennial and International Exposition.

GENERAL SUBJECT.

THE WORK OF LOCAL COUNCILS.

Ten-minute reports from each of the following Local Councils represented by President or Delegate:

Portland, Maine.

Akron, Ohio.

Indianapolis, Indiana.

Providence, Rhode Island.

Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Quincy, Illinois.

Memphis, Tennessee.

Cleveland, Ohio.

Maryville, Tennessee, and all other Local Councils affiliated with the National Council.

ADDRESS.

Thirty minutes: "How may Local Councils more efficiently co-operate with Municipal Governments."

Rev. Anna Garlin Spencer (Rhode Island).

Discussion on the Address. Participants limited to ten minutes each.

Mrs. Katherine Huntington Day (Indiana).

Mrs. Helen Raymond Wells (Ohio).

N.B.—Reception Monday evening, given by the Woman's Department of the Tennessee Centennial and International Exposition.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 26, 9.30 A M.

Ten-minute reports from the following organizations by a President or Delegate:

National American Woman Suffrage Association.
National Association of Loyal Women of American Liberty.
Woman's Relief Corps, Auxiliary to the Grand Army of the Republic.

ADDRESS.

Thirty minutes: "The Relation of the National Council to National Governmental Affairs."

Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery (Pennsylvania).

ADDRESS.

Thirty minutes: "The National Council as an Agent in Promoting National Patriotism."

Mrs. Kate Brownlee Sherwood (Ohio).
Miss Susan B. Anthony (New York).

Afternoon Session, 2 o'clock.

Ten-minute reports from the following National organizations by a President or Delegate:

Young Ladies' National Mutual Improvement Association.
Illinois Industrial School for Girls (National Charter).
Wimodaughsis.
National Woman's Relief Society.
National Association of Women Stenographers.
Supreme Hive Ladies of the Maccabees.

Ten minutes: Special report of Delegate to the Annual Session of the National Council of Women of Canada, held in Halifax in June.

Mrs. May Wright Sewall (Indiana).

ADDRESS.

Thirty minutes: "Improved Dress." Mrs. Annie White Johnson, Chairman of the Committee on Dress, followed by illustrative exhibit in charge of Madame Manvell.

Evening Session, 8 o'clock.

Ten-minute reports from the following national organizations affiliated with the Council by a President or Delegate:

National Christian League for the Promotion of Social Purity.
National Free Baptist Woman's Missionary Society.
Florence Crittenton Missions.
American Anti-Vivisection Society.
National Council of Jewish Women.
National Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

ADDRESS.

Thirty minutes: "Opportunity and Obligation of the National Council to Promote the Growth of Religious Unity."

Mrs. Elizabeth Boynton Harbert (Illinois).

Discussion of address, participants limited to twenty minutes each:

Mrs. Elizabeth B. Grannis (New York).

Rev. Anna Garlin Spencer (Rhode Island).

Miss Sarah J. Farmer (Maine).

Report of the Conference of the International Council held in London in July.

Mrs. May Wright Sewall (Indiana).

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 27, 9.30 A.M.

Ten-minute statements by each member of the Cabinet present.

Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery (Pennsylvania).

Mrs. Lillian M. N. Stevens (Maine).

Mrs. Frances E. Bagley (Michigan).

Mrs. Isabella Charles Davis (New York).

Mrs. May Wright Sewall (Indiana).

Mrs. Mary Newberry Adams (Iowa).

Subject: "Her Own Conception of the Significance and Scope of the Work Belonging to Her Own Portfolio."

ADDRESS.

Thirty minutes: "How May Patrons be Rendered Helpful in the Diffusion of the Council Idea?"

Discussion by Patrons present. Participants limited to five minutes each.

Ten minutes: Report of the Universal Peace Union.

Rev. Amanda Deyo (Pennsylvania).

ADDRESS.

Thirty minutes: "The Council as an Agent in Promoting Peace and Arbitration."

Countess di Brazza (Rome, Italy).

N.B. — Wednesday afternoon free for the enjoyment of courtesies which the Committee on Convocations desires to extend.

WEDNESDAY EVENING.

Reception given by the officers of the National Council of Women.

THURSDAY MORNING, OCTOBER 28.

MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE.

(Open only to officers of the National Council, Presidents and Delegates of National organizations belonging to the National Council, Presidents and Delegates of Local Councils affiliated with the National Council, members of the Cabinet, and Patrons.)

N.B. -- This session will be held at the Maxwell House, which will be the headquarters of the Council during the Nashville Convention.

SPECIAL BUSINESS: Action upon the Revised Constitution; presentation and discussion of the reports of Special and Standing Committees.

COMMITTEE ON PROGRAMME.

REV. ANNA H. SHAW,

Vice-President-at-Large of the National Council of Women and
Chairman of the Programme Committee of the Nashville meeting,
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

RACHEL FOSTER AVERY, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Member of the Cabinet.

HANNAH G. SOLOMAN, Chicago, Illinois.

President National Council of Jewish Women.

ANNIE WHITE JOHNSON, Chicago, Illinois.

Chairman of Committee on Dress.

MAY WRIGHT SEWALL,

Member of Cabinet, 633 (new) North Pennsylvania Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.

LOCAL COMMITTEE.

Miss Mary B. Temple.

Mrs. John Hill Eakin.

Mrs. J. H. Acklen.

Mrs. E. C. Lewis.

Mrs. James M. Head.

Mrs. Frank McGavock.

Mrs. B. F. Willson.

Mrs. Shelby Williams.

Mrs. Robert Forde Weakley, *Chairman*.

MINUTES OF THE MEETING
OF THE
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

HELD IN THE WOMAN'S BUILDING OF THE TENNESSEE CENTENNIAL
AND INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION, NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE.

Monday, 9.30 A.M., Oct. 25, 1897.

In the absence of the President, Mrs. Mary Lowe Dickinson, the Vice-President, Rev. Anna Howard Shaw, presiding, called the meeting to order.

Mrs. Louise Barnum Robbins, Corresponding Secretary, called the roll, and the following were present at either this or succeeding meetings:

Rev. Anna Howard Shaw, Vice-President-at-Large, Philadelphia, Pa.; Louise Barnum Robbins, Corresponding Secretary, Adrian, Mich.

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

Miss Susan B. Anthony, President, Rochester, N.Y.

Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, Delegate, Philadelphia, Pa.

NATIONAL WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION.

Mrs. Margaret Watts, Proxy of President, Nashville, Tenn.

Mrs. J. D. Allen, Delegate, Nashville, Tenn.

ILLINOIS INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL FOR GIRLS (National Charter).

Mrs. Margaret I. Sandes, Proxy of President, Chicago, Ill.

WIMODAUGHSIS.

Miss Lucy E. Anthony, Delegate, Philadelphia, Pa.

NATIONAL CHRISTIAN LEAGUE FOR THE PROMOTION OF SOCIAL PURITY.

Mrs. Elizabeth B. Grannis, President, New York City.

UNIVERSAL PEACE UNION.

Countess Cora Slocumb di Brazza Savorgnan, delegate, New York City (Rome, Italy).

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF LOYAL WOMEN OF AMERICAN LIBERTY.

Mrs. I. C. Manchester, President, Providence, R.I.

**WOMAN'S RELIEF CORPS, AUXILIARY TO THE GRAND ARMY OF THE
REPUBLIC.**

Mrs. Sarah J. Martin, President, Brookfield, Mo.

Mrs. Emma R. Wallace, Delegate, Chicago, Ill.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF WOMEN STENOGRAPHERS.

Miss M. G. C. Lynam, Delegate, Nashville, Tenn.

FLORENCE CRITTENTON MISSIONS.

Mrs. Kate Waller Barrett, Delegate, Washington, D.C.

LOCAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF INDIANAPOLIS.

Mrs. Katherine Huntington Day, Proxy of President, Indianapolis, Ind.

LOCAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF QUINCY, ILL.

Mrs. Anne Jarrett Wood, Proxy of President, Quincy, Ill.

LOCAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF AKRON, OHIO.

Mrs. Helen Raymond Wells, Delegate, Akron, O.

LOCAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF RHODE ISLAND.

Rev. Anna Garlin Spencer, President, Providence, R.I.

MEMBERS OF THE CABINET.

Mrs. May Wright Sewall, Secretary Department of Foreign Relations.

Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, Secretary Department of the Home.

CHAIRMEN OF STANDING COMMITTEES.

Mrs. Annie White Johnson, Chairman Committee on Dress, Chicago, Ill.

Mrs. Kate Brownlee Sherwood, Chairman Committee on Patriotic Instruction, Canton, O.

PATRONS PRESENT.

Mrs. May Wright Sewall, Rev. Anna Howard Shaw, Miss Susan B. Anthony, Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, Mrs. Louise Barnum Robbins, Miss Lucy E. Anthony, Mrs. Frances M. Swain, Bloomington, Ind., Mrs. Alice E. Peters, Columbus, O.

FRATERNAL DELEGATES.

NATIONAL CONGRESS OF MOTHERS.

Mrs. Sallie S. Cotten, Falkland, North Carolina.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF CANADA.

Mrs. Samuel Lyle, Hamilton, Ont.

On request of Mrs. Kate Brownlee Sherwood, Chairman of the Committee on the Press, Mrs. Anne Jarret Wood and Mrs. Helen Raymond Wells were added to the committee.

On motion of Mrs. Sewall, seconded by Mrs. I. C. Manchester, Rachel Foster Avery was made Recording Secretary *pro tem*. On motion, Lucy E. Anthony was made Treasurer *pro tem*.

The Vice-President appointed the following Committee on Credentials : Rev. Anna Garlin Spencer, Mrs. I. C. Manchester, Mrs. Katherine Huntington Day.

In the absence of the Treasurer, Mrs. Hannah J. Bailey, her report was presented by the Corresponding Secretary, and stands as follows :

Report of the Treasurer.

HANNAH J. BAILEY, TREASURER, IN ACCOUNT WITH NATIONAL COUNCIL
OF WOMEN OF THE UNITED STATES.

1896

Dr.

Dec. 1. To Balance on hand last report \$71 15

Cash received, donations : —

Anna Dormitzer	\$25 00	
Hannah J. Bailey, to old debt and naming		
Gertrude Stevens Leavitt a Patron	100 00	
J. Ellen Foster, to old debt and to be applied		
as installment on Patron fee for self	50 00	
Anna H. Shaw, to old debt	100 00	
Rachel Foster Avery, to old debt	500 00	
Frances E. Willard, to expenses Boston		
meeting	25 00	
Frances E. Bagley, to expenses Boston		
meeting	100 00	
Mary Newbury Adams, to expenses Boston		
meeting	5 00	
	<hr/>	905 00

Cash received, Patron fees : —

Kate Beckwith Lee	100 00	
Charlotte B. Wilbour, balance	66 00	
	<hr/>	166 00

Cash received, Membership fees : —

Woman's Republican Association of the		
United States	50 00	
National Woman's Relief Society	33 35	
American Anti-Vivisection Society	100 00	
National Council of Jewish Women	100 00	
Local Council of Women of Portland, Me.	24 00	
Local Council of Women of Indianapolis,		
Ind.	25 00	
Local Council of Women of Quincy, Ill.	24 00	
Local Council of Women of Rhode Island	24 00	
	<hr/>	380 35

Total receipts \$1,522 50

Cr.

By Cash paid, account of:—

New York Printing Co., printing	\$45 80
E. B. Stillings & Co, stationery and printing	24 50
Boston Herald Co.	11 80
Boston Daily Advertiser	4 20
Miriam & Meader, stenography	15 00
Wm. F. Moore & Co., printing minutes	72 00
Nathan Brothers, stationery	6 00
Rachel Foster Avery, on note	500 00
Nicolas M. Shaw, balance old salary	125 00
Louise Barnum Robbins, Corresponding Secretary, Bill for 1896 for postage, office supplies, ex- pressage, clerical help, etc.	135 70
Mary Lowe Dickinson, President, clerical help, office supplies, payment on loan, expenses Bos- ton meeting, etc.	582 50
	<u>\$1,522 50</u>

LIABILITIES.

Due Mary Lowe Dickinson on note	850 00
Due Mary Lowe Dickinson on expenses of Boston meeting	164 00
Due Rachel Foster Avery, on note	400 00
Total	<u>\$1,414 00</u>

Respectfully submitted,

HANNAH J. BAILEY,

Treasurer.

Oct. 11, 1897.

On motion of Mrs. Sewall, the Treasurer's report was referred to an auditing committee, which was appointed by the Chair as follows: Mrs. Emma R. Wallace, Mrs. Frances E. Swain, Mrs. Elizabeth B. Grannis.

On motion of Rev. Anna Garlin Spencer, certain members of the Woman's Board of the Tennessee Centennial Exposition were invited to attend the executive sessions of the Council.

On motion of Rev. Anna Garlin Spencer, seconded by Miss Anthony, the printed programme was adopted as the order of business.

The meeting proceeded to discuss the first question upon the programme: "Shall the next triennial sit in two houses?" Action upon this question was deferred.

Upon the second question: "Upon what basis of representation may Councils embracing two or more States be admitted into the National Council?" On motion of Rev. Anna Garlin Spencer, it was resolved, that a committee be appointed by the Chair to report to the

next executive session a suggestion as to the best basis of representation for sectional organizations in the National Council."

The following were appointed a Committee on Sectional Representation: Rev. Anna Garlin Spencer, Mrs. May Wright Sewall, Mrs. Louise Barnum Robbins.

Upon the third question: "Shall the National Council employ an organizer for constant work in the field in organizing Local Councils?"

On motion of Mrs. Sewall, seconded by Mrs. Robbins, it was voted, That the National Council shall employ an organizer or organizers for working in the field, organizing State and Local Councils.

This motion was discussed by all the members present, meeting with unanimous approval, many different ideas being submitted for the plan of execution.

On motion of Mrs. Sewall, seconded by Mrs. Robbins, it was resolved, that a committee of five be appointed at this executive meeting to look over the field most carefully and to find an organizer or organizers.

On motion of Mrs. Sewall, seconded by Rev. Anna Garlin Spencer, it was resolved that when this committee shall have been appointed, it shall be instructed to report the result of its investigation to the Corresponding Secretary of the National Council, and that she shall communicate this report to the general officers of the National Council, and that they shall be empowered to act upon the recommendation of this committee, in the employment of the organizer or organizers.

On motion of Miss Anthony, seconded by Mrs. Sewall, the Corresponding Secretary was instructed to send a message to the President, Mrs. Mary Lowe Dickinson, expressing the deep regret of the Council for her absence, sorrow for her prolonged illness and good wishes for her speedy recovery, with the loving greetings of the National Council of Women.

Greetings were ordered sent to the Countess of Aberdeen, President of the International Council of Women, and of the National Council of Women of Canada, and to Frances E. Willard, President of the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union, in response to the greetings which had been received from them.

On motion of Mrs. Sewall, it was voted that any changes necessary to be made in the programme be left with the Programme Committee.

Upon the fourth question: "Shall a Committee on Information be formed, whose function it shall be to correspond with the officers of national associations not yet affiliated with the Council, to the end that

an opportunity may be secured to communicate information respecting the Council to such associations?"

On motion of Mrs. Sewall, seconded by Mrs. Wallace, it was voted that a Committee on Information be formed whose function it shall be to correspond with the officers of National associations not yet affiliated with the Council to the end that an opportunity may be secured to communicate information respecting the National Council of Women to such associations.

On motion of Rachel Foster Avery, seconded by Mrs. Sewall, it was voted that the Committee on Information be elected, and that said election be the first order of business at the next session.

The Corresponding Secretary read the following invitation from the Commercial Club of Omaha :

OMAHA, NEB., Oct. 5, 1897.

MRS. LOUISE BARNUM ROBBINS,

Corresponding Secretary National Council of Women,

Adrian, Mich.

Dear Madam : The Commercial Club of this city, by unanimous action, cordially invites your worthy organization to select the city of Omaha, Neb., as the place for holding your annual meeting for the year 1898.

The membership of this Club is composed of all the business and professional interests of this city of all classes.

Provided you select Omaha for your next meeting place, we will furnish ample accommodations for meetings, including hall and committee rooms, also guarantee first-class hotel accommodations at reasonable rates. The Trans-Mississippi and International Exposition will be in operation at that time, which will be second only to the World's Fair, and will be an attractive feature for your meeting.

Omaha is the central city of the United States. Twenty lines of railway diverge from Omaha, forming a direct line of road to every city in the country. This city is midway on the shortest trans-continental line between the oceans. Provided any of your members desire to go further west, a direct line of road runs from Omaha to all places of interest, including the Black Hills, Yellowstone Park, Colorado, Salt Lake and California. The fact of the Exposition being in Omaha in 1898, will guarantee you less passenger rates than you could otherwise secure.

Again, we urge you to come to Omaha in 1898. The freedom of the city is extended to you and you will be entertained by warm hearts and prodigal hands.

Hoping your meeting will be attended with success, and extending to you our best wishes, I am

Yours very truly,

(Signed)

J. E. UTT,

Secretary of Omaha Commercial Club.

This letter was received with manifestations of pleasure, and enthusiastic comment was made upon its being the first invitation which the National Council of Women had received from a club or organization of men.

The letter was referred to the general officers with a recommendation to accept the invitation, but final action was deferred until it should be definitely decided when the next triennial meeting would be held.

The Corresponding Secretary stated that she had replied to the letter expressing, on behalf of the Council, high appreciation of the invitation received.

On motion of Mrs. Sewall it was voted to invite Miss Sarah E. Farmer of Eliot, Me., Miss Wilson of Malden, Mass., and Dr. Mary E. Green of Charlotte, Mich., the President of the National Household Economic Association, to attend the executive sessions as guests.

The meeting adjourned to two o'clock P.M.

AFTERNOON PUBLIC SESSION,

2 O'CLOCK.

The meeting was called to order by Mrs. Van Leer Kirkman, President of the Woman's Board of the Tennessee Centennial Exposition, who received a hearty ovation when she appeared upon the platform. She announced a few moments of silent prayer, and felicitously expressed her own gratification in presiding upon that occasion, and her pleasure in greeting the women of the National Council whose fame had preceded them. Mrs. Kirkman introduced Miss Mary Bass Temple of Knoxville, Vice-President of the Woman's Board of the Centennial for East Tennessee, who would extend a welcome to the National Council on behalf of the Woman's Board of the Tennessee and Centennial International Exposition.

Miss Temple made an eloquent and admirable address, and was warmly applauded throughout. She paid tribute to the high character and noble projects of the women of the National Council, as separate organizations and in their collective capacity. She said in substance that among the many associations represented at the Centennial Exposition none had been looked forward to with greater interest than this body, the constituency of which was drawn from many societies of divergent interests, yet all united in the great purpose of the betterment of humanity, in the great conflict between the good and the evil,

the true and the false, the higher and the lower, and closed by extending the warmest welcome to their Southern hearts and homes.

The Vice-President, Rev. Anna Howard Shaw, responded with feeling, eloquently expressing the high appreciation of the members of the National Council for the cordial welcome tendered them upon all sides, and for the beautiful address just given by Miss Temple. She drew a contrast between the Tennessee of one hundred years ago and the Tennessee of today, in the course of which she paid glowing tribute to the women of the South, who, surviving the ravages of war, had risen, Phoenix-like, from the ashes of desolation to the high discharge of new and untried duties, in a manner to excite the admiration of the whole nation. She dwelt upon the royal welcome extended by the Woman's Board of the Centennial Exposition and said that the proverbial hospitality of the South had been more than verified.

At the close of the Vice-President's address, which was received with much applause, Mrs. John Hill Eakin of the Woman's Board of the Tennessee Centennial was introduced and announced the social features and courtesies tendered the Council. Mrs. Van Leer Kirkman closed this part of the programme by expressing thanks to the Vice-President for her kind words of praise for the work of the Woman's Board and for her hearty response to the address of welcome. She again expressed personal pleasure in welcoming the women of the Council, and, in handing the gavel to the Vice-President, extended best wishes for the success of this meeting of the Council.

The Vice-President, taking the chair, introduced Mrs. Lyle of Hamilton, Ont., fraternal delegate from the National Council of Women of Canada, who felicitously presented the greetings of the Canadian Council, and also the personal greetings of the Countess of Aberdeen, its President, to all of which the Vice-President responded.

Mrs. Robbins, Corresponding Secretary, read a letter of greetings from the Countess of Aberdeen, President of the International Council of Women, expressing regret that she was unable to accept the courteous invitation to attend the meeting.

Mrs. Robbins also read letters which she had received from President and Mrs. McKinley, from the Executive Mansion, extending cordial greetings and good wishes to the National Council of Women. These courtesies were warmly applauded, and on motion of Mrs. May Wright Sewall, who said the National Council of Women, made up of women of all political beliefs, greatly valued a message from the Chief Executive of the country, the first ever received by the Council, greetings were ordered sent.

By unanimous consent, Lucy E. Anthony was made chairman of the Committee on Credentials, vice Rev. Anna Garlin Spencer, who requested to be relieved on account of being compelled to depart before the completion of the work of the committee.

The meeting then proceeded in accordance with the programme for the public meeting.

PUBLIC SESSION — TUESDAY MORNING.

At the opening of the meeting Tuesday morning, October 26, the Vice-President read a communication from the President, Mrs. Mary Lowe Dickinson, expressing deep regret in her absence and her abiding interest in the Council's progress, and her hopes for a successful meeting.

On motion of Mrs. I. C. Manchester, the Vice-President was instructed to appoint a Committee on Resolutions which was announced later on as follows: Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, chairman; Mrs. Elizabeth B. Grannis, Mrs. Kate Brownlee Sherwood, Mrs. Frances M. Swain and Mrs. Helen Raymond Wells.

On motion of Mrs. Emma R. Wallace, a vote of thanks was extended to the kindergarten, to the kindergarten children, and to Miss Duncan who had charge of them, for the beautiful flag salute given by the children before the Council.

At the evening public session a telegram was read from the absent President, Mrs. Dickinson, extending heartiest greetings in response to those received from the Council.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

At a brief executive session held after the adjournment of the morning meeting, it was voted, on motion of Mrs. Sewall, to dispense with the reception announced on the programme for Wednesday evening, and to substitute therefor a business session of the Executive Committee.

PUBLIC SESSION — WEDNESDAY MORNING.

At the Wednesday morning public session, October 27, Mrs. Avery presented messages from the Presidents of the Young Ladies'

Mutual Improvement Association and the National Woman's Relief Society of Utah, to which Mrs. Avery and Mrs. Sewall responded.

Mrs. Sallie S. Cotten of North Carolina, fraternal delegate from the National Congress of Mothers, was introduced and presented greetings and made a report. Mrs. Sewall read a letter from Mrs. Adlai E. Stevenson, the President General of the Daughters of the American Revolution, which was written at Hotel Cecil, The Strand, London, England.

The following invitation was read and referred to an executive meeting for action:

TRANS-MISSISSIPPI AND INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION.

OMAHA, NEB., Oct. 25, 1897.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN,

In Convention assembled, Nashville, Tenn.

Ladies: It gives me great pleasure to extend to you the invitation of the Trans-Mississippi Directory, through its Woman's Department, to hold your meeting of 1898 in Omaha. In urging your consideration of this matter, I beg leave to call your attention to the following facts:—

First. The Exposition is an affair of great magnitude. It will be second in importance, we believe, to the World's Fair only, and it will bring together numbers of people who will become interested in your work, if you will give them an opportunity.

Second. The Exposition will control railroad rates to such an extent that fares will be very greatly reduced. We are not, I am sorry to say, in a position to state at this date just what the reduction will be, but we are counting on at least one fare for the round trip. Regarding our hotel accommodations, I may say they are of the best, and it might be added that board will be procured by the Woman's Department at almost any price desired, for attendants upon your Convention.

Third. The people of the Trans-Mississippi region, of which Omaha will be, for the season of the Exposition, the center, are in need of a knowledge of the principles and ideas for which you stand as an organization. They are in a position to accept these ideas and incorporate them into the community life. I, therefore, urge your acceptance of this invitation upon grounds of convenience, economy and philanthropy.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed)

FRANCES M. FORD,

Secretary Woman's Department.

MAXWELL HOUSE, OCTOBER 27, 8 O'CLOCK P.M.

The Vice-President, Rev. Anna Howard Shaw, presiding, called the meeting to order.

The minutes of the morning session of October 25 were read by the Recording Secretary *pro tem.*, Rachel Foster Avery, and approved.

The minutes of the two last sessions of the meeting held in Boston, December 3 and 4, 1896, were read by the Corresponding Secretary and approved.

Lucy E. Anthony, Chairman of the Committee on Credentials, submitted a report, showing fourteen voting representatives present. There were present also two Patrons, Mrs. Frances M. Swain of Bloomington, Ind., and Mrs. Alice E. Peters of Columbus, Ohio. Mrs. Lyle of Hamilton, Ont., a fraternal delegate from the National Council of Women of Canada, was present as a guest, and also Miss Sarah J. Farmer of Eliot, Maine, Miss Wilson of Malden, Massachusetts, and Mrs. Sallie S. Cotten of Falkland, North Carolina, fraternal delegate from the National Congress of Mothers.

A letter from the President of Wimodaughsis was presented making Lucy E. Anthony its representative at the meeting. This made fifteen voters present.

The report of the Auditing Committee was submitted and adopted as follows : —

To the Members of the Executive Committee :

We, your Auditing Committee, have examined the reports submitted and find them correct, but would recommend for future meetings, that the Treasurer furnish, for auditing, the bills and a better itemized report.

EMMA R. WALLACE, *Chairman.*
FRANCES M. SWAIN.
ELIZABETH B. GRANNIS.

The Secretary read the following invitation from the Board of the Woman's Department of the Centennial Exposition :

The National Council is cordially invited to participate in the grand march and ball in honor of Mrs. John W. Thomas at the Auditorium, Centennial grounds, October 28, at eight o'clock.

(Signed) MRS. H. H. EVANS,
Chairman.

It was voted to send the thanks of the Council through Mrs. Evans, with regrets that it would be impossible on account of the business meeting to accept the invitation.

The election of members of the Committee on Information was the next order of business, but by vote was postponed to take up the resignation of the President, Mrs. Mary Lowe Dickinson.

The Vice-President stated that communications had been received from the President urging that her resignation, tendered last May, and which the Executive Committee had declined to accept, be accepted, as

her health was so impaired that she could not carry forward the work of the Council. The Secretary then read the following portions of a letter of October 23, from Mrs. Dickinson to the Vice-President: —

I cannot tell you what an unutterably sad time it is to me. To leave the Council seems to me like going out of life. I had such hopes for it when I entered it, and I have made such a bitter, pitiful failure of it.

Will you say in the meeting of Executive Committee that I dare not say that I will withdraw my resignation and attempt to carry the load?

* * * * *

I say to you frankly, Miss Shaw, that I have lain awake many nights trying to find a way by which I could take up this work again. Everything in me desired to do it; especially did I desire to show those who have rallied so grandly to help me, how eager I am to help them in carrying the work for the next year; but I am so thoroughly convinced that I should break and fail that I feel that I have no right to so trifle with the great interests.

Let me, therefore, beg you to consider that I am pledged to the Council for every pen stroke that I can write for it, for every smallest, simplest task that I can perform, and believe that I will work for it when and as I am able; but ask them to release me from the responsibility of the position, which I no longer have the strength or power to hold.

I have recently been asked if I "wanted" my resignation to be accepted. I want with every fibre of my being to stay at my post and serve the Council during the coming year; but I am so convinced that I could not do it without another absolute break in health, that I should feel I was doing an injustice to the work if I allowed the burden of it to rest again upon myself. I must say that if there is any comfort to me in the situation it is in the fact that the rest of you have carried it so grandly that I know it is in safe and abler hands than mine.

* * * * *

You will know I have spoken out of my heart which loyally and gratefully and lovingly belongs to the Council and to all of you.

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) MARY LOWE DICKINSON.

After a moment of silence following the reading of this letter, Mrs. Sarah J. Martin, National President of the Woman's Relief Corps, moved, that, in justice to the President and in justice to the Council, the resignation of the President be accepted and that this action is taken with deep regret. Seconded.

Mrs. Grannis said that she felt it important to retain the name of Mrs. Dickinson as President. and asked whether the President could not retain the position, and some other woman be elected as acting President to do the work until Mrs. Dickinson should recover her health.

The Vice-President said that that would be impracticable and told how difficult it had been for her, in her position as Vice-President-at-Large, to arrange this present meeting, because she was always ham-

pered by the feeling of anxiety lest her work should not accord with Mrs. Dickinson's ideas as to its arrangements.

Mrs. Wallace felt that it would be an injustice to Mrs. Dickinson not to accept the resignation, that the sense of continued responsibility would be a heavy burden to her and would greatly impede her final restoration to health.

The Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. Robbins, said in substance, that, last May when the President's resignation had been submitted she had felt, as did the Vice-President, that it would be detrimental to the Council if Mrs. Dickinson should give up the presidency; that she had urged Mrs. Dickinson to withhold the resignation, and that in transmitting copies of the resignation to the members of the Executive Committee, she had, in a letter accompanying, expressed the opinion that the resignation ought not to be accepted, hoping that if relieved by the Vice-President for a few months, the President would recover her health; but that we must now face the sad situation attending this long and critical illness of the President, and that deeply as she should deplore a severance of the official relation, and great as she felt the loss of Mary Lowe Dickinson's name to be as the head of the Council, she felt that it was the imperative duty of the Executive Committee to accept the resignation, as she believed that our beloved President would not regain her health unless relieved of this responsibility, which, in her weakened physical state, she felt keenly; and that much as we desired to continue her in this office which she had so notably honored and acceptably filled, we ought now to accept the resignation in justice to her who had labored so bravely and self-sacrificingly for the Council. Mrs. Robbins spoke with deep emotion, and said that, having been in close and confidential official relations with the President, and understanding the circumstances throughout, she had at last come to feel that we could not, in justice to her, refuse to comply with her urgent request to accept her resignation, and that she believed that the ultimate recovery of Mrs. Dickinson depended upon this.

After further words from Mrs. Grannis, Mrs. Avery and others, all expressing deepest regret over the necessity of accepting the resignation, the vote was taken upon Mrs. Martin's motion and it was carried; whereupon the Vice-President declared that the resignation of Mary Lowe Dickinson, as President of the National Council of Women, had been accepted with deep regret.

On motion of Mrs. Watts, Proxy of Frances E. Willard, President of the W.C.T.U., it was voted to proceed with the election of a President for the unexpired term, to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of the President, Mrs. Mary Lowe Dickinson.

The Vice-President appointed as tellers, Mrs. Anne Jarrett Wood, delegate of the Local Council of Quincy, and Mrs. Sarah J. Martin, President of the Woman's Relief Corps.

In accordance with the constitution an informal ballot was taken for nominations, and resulted in the nomination of Mrs. May Wright Sewall.

Mrs. Sewall said that she could not think of accepting or declining the office at this meeting, but must have time to give the matter consideration. She had not felt able to speak on the subject before, because of her personal connection with it; or she would have suggested that the election of a President at this juncture should be referred by correspondence to all the national organizations in the Council and to all Local Councils affiliating with the National Council, and if the vote so taken should be unanimous for her as President she would weigh carefully the question as to whether in justice to her other interests, she could accept such a responsibility.

Miss Farmer advised against leaving the matter to the decision of those who, because of their absence, would necessarily find it almost impossible to fully comprehend the situation.

The Vice-President called Mrs. Martin to the chair and spoke from the floor, sustaining Miss Farmer's view.

Mrs. Emma R. Wallace felt that the matter should be decided at this meeting and also that the decision reached now of Mrs. Sewall for President is the same that would be reached three months hence after correspondence with all the organizations in membership.

Mrs. Sewall thereupon made extended remarks, stating how difficult it would be for her to take the presidency at that time, and that to do so she should be compelled to give up many personal interests which she had planned to carry forward, that her daily cares were heavy, and also that it would be impossible for her to advance the Council's interests and at the same time carry the financial burden. That she realized the seriousness of the situation, but did not see how it would be possible for her to assume so great a trust at that time.

Mrs. Grannis, Countess di Brazza, Rev. Anna Howard Shaw, Mrs. Kate Brownlee Sherwood and Mrs. Watts spoke, all urging Mrs. Sewall to consent to accept the presidency.

Miss Anthony followed, saying that she believed that the life of the Council and its development in the future depended on May Wright Sewall accepting the presidency and accepting it then and there; and that she felt that it was her duty to do so.

Mrs. Sewall said that if she accepted it, it must be with the assurance of strong financial support from the other officers and all the members of the Council.

A discussion on the financial situation was participated in by the Vice-President, by Mrs. Lyle, the representative of the Canadian Council, by Countess di Brazza and Mrs. Wallace.

By an unanimous vote, the Recording Secretary was instructed to cast the ballot of the meeting for May Wright Sewall as President. This was done and the Vice-President declared Mrs. May Wright Sewall elected President of the Council for the unexpired term.

Mrs. Kate Brownlee Sherwood submitted the following resolutions and moved their adoption, seconded by Mrs. Louise Barnum Robbins :

Resolved, That the national Council of Women of the United States provide a means of bringing individuals into personal relation with the Council by recognizing a class of supporters of the Council Idea, who shall be known as "Annual Contributors." Such annual contributors shall pay the sum of \$5.00 into the treasury, and in consideration of this aid shall receive all reports published by the Council during the term of their enrollment, and shall enjoy the privilege of sitting in the executive sessions of the Council, so long as they continue to contribute annually \$5.00 to the support of the Council.

Resolved, That the general officers of every national organization and of every Local Council affiliated with the National Council be informed of this action and be authorized to secure from the membership of their respective organizations as many annual contributors to the National Council as possible. That the chairman of each standing committee be notified of this action, and be empowered to secure annual contributors by her direct effort, or by the aid of the members of her committee, or by the aid of a sub-committee appointed by herself. Each annual contributor shall receive a Contributor's Certificate signed by the names of the President, the Secretary and the Treasurer of the National Council.

These resolutions were unanimously adopted.

The report of the Treasurer *pro tem.* was submitted and adopted, having been audited by the Auditing Committee. Her report as submitted to the Treasurer after the payment of moneys ordered by this meeting is as follows :

Report of Treasurer pro tem.

LUCY E. ANTHONY, TREASURER *pro tem.*, IN ACCOUNT WITH THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF THE UNITED STATES.

1897

DR.

Oct. 25.	To Cash received, Mrs. May Wright Sewall, as per accompanying statement	\$329 01
	Cash received, Miss Wilson, Malden, Mass., contributing member	5 00
	<i>Amount carried forward</i>	\$334 01

<i>Amount brought forward</i>	\$334 01
Cash received, Mrs. Eleanor Whipple, contributing member, St. Louis, Mo.	5 00
Cash received, Mrs. I. C. Manchester, installment on triennial fee for National Association of the Loyal Women of American Liberty	26 00
	<u>\$365 01</u>
	359 70
	<u>\$5 31</u>

CR.

By Cash paid, account of : —

Stenographer during Convention for Mrs. Sherwood	12 00
Stenographer during Convention for Mrs. Sewall	4 00
Stenographer and telegrams for Rachel Foster Avery	5 60
Stenographer, postage, etc., Rev. Anna Shaw	33 35
Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, account, loan	200 00
Mrs. Mary Lowe Dickinson, account, loan	100 00
Nashville papers sent to absent members	4 75
	<u>Total disbursements</u>
	\$359 70
Balance due Treasurer, Hannah J. Bailey	5 31

LUCY E. ANTHONY,

Treasurer pro tem

Nashville, Tenn.

STATEMENT FROM MRS. SEWALL.

Received from Patrons moneys as follows : —

Charles W. Bond	\$100 00
Alice E. Peters	100 00
Alice W. Peirce	100 00
Abby W. Pettingill	100 00
Frances M. Swain, first installment on fee	34 00
May Wright Sewall, subscription according to pledge	50 00
	<u>\$484 00</u>
	154 99
	<u>\$329 01</u>

CR.

Have expended : —

Carlton & Hollenbeck, printing	\$29 50
Stenographer, Mary J. Burke	37 74
Postage	27 00
Expressage	4 75
Clerk hire	56 00
	<u>Total disbursements</u>
	\$154 99

Balance handed to Lucy E. Anthony, Treasurer *pro tem* \$329 01

MAY WRIGHT SEWALL.

The Vice-President then announced the Committee on Organizers as follows: Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, Chairman, Philadelphia, Pa.; Mrs. Sarah J. Martin, Brookfield, Mo.; Mrs. Hannah G. Solomon, Chicago, Ill.; Mrs. Frances M. Swain, Bloomington, Ind.; and Miss Sarah J. Farmer, Eliot, Me.

The Countess di Brazza, delegate of the Universal Peace Union, presented the question of the enrollment of the National Council of Women upon the Peace Flag, and read the resolutions which follow: —

THE UNIVERSAL INTERNATIONAL SYMBOL OF PEACE.

WHEREAS, a Peace Flag has been designed, symbolical of the principles of peace, with distinctive colors and features which prevent the possibility of its being confused with any existing national flag, namely, a tricolor of yellow, purple and white, with a shield placed upon the purple field, surmounted by a man's and a woman's clasped hands, sustained by a pair of dove wings with a white star aloft; on the shield can appear any device chosen by the association adopting the flag, or simply the number of enrollment among the users of the flag, or the motto "*Pro Concordia Labor*" (For Peace I Work), or this motto may be placed upon a ribbon on the flag beneath the shield, or on a streamer (white) from the flag staff (blue, the color of promise), surmounted by a star, with the motto of the association or individual using the flag upon the other white streamer. And

WHEREAS, This Peace Flag is especially designed for international and cosmopolitan work, namely, the cementing of the loving bonds of universal brotherhood without respect to creed, nationality or color, furnishing one symbol for the use of all the seekers for peace and peace promoters throughout the world, and the Universal Peace Union has recommended it to the consideration of all peace societies and other associations and individuals cherishing peace principles, recommending the adoption of the same standard as an international symbol of peace by the vote of the members of any society endorsing the flag and the teaching universally of the ethics of harmony, this to entitle them to the use of the Peace Flag, and to subscribe the name of their society upon the international roll and receive a number corresponding to the time of its enrollment.

Resolved, That the National Council of Women of the United States accepts the Peace Flag and adopts the same for use as the emblem of Universal Peace, of the Universal Brotherhood of man, and for international co-operation and work.

AND WHEREAS, Children throughout the world are taught too much of the history of feuds and massacres, too little of the progress of industrial arts, sciences and inventions which benefit mankind, and, above all, too little of the triumph of humanitarian principles; it is further

Resolved, That we seek, individually and collectively, to induce the mothers, teachers and citizens of the world, to teach children the lessons of

harmony at the hearth, kindness and fair play embodied in the rules of harmony, and to practice arbitration in settling all questions, and to love and cherish the Peace Flag as symbolical of all that is noblest in mankind.

On motion of Mrs. Sewall, seconded by Mrs. Robbins, the above resolutions were adopted and the following resolution passed : —

Resolved, That the National Council of Women of the United States, fully endorsing all the principles of the organization for peace and arbitration, do adopt the Peace Flag, always to be hung with its own symbols at all meetings of the National Council of Women, and recommend its use by the organizations and Local Councils that are affiliated with the National Council.

The election of members of the Committee on Information resulted as follows: Mrs. May Wright Sewall, Chairman, Indianapolis, Ind., Mrs. Kate Brownlee Sherwood, Canton, O., Rev. Anna Garlin Spencer, Providence, R.I., Mrs. Mary A. Swift, San Francisco, California, and Mrs. Baird, Nashville, Tenn.

On motion of Mrs. Sewall, seconded by Miss Anthony, it was voted to request the President of every national organization and Local Council affiliated with the National Council, to form each for itself a Committee on Information.

On motion of Mrs. Sewall, seconded by Mrs. Sandes, the Vice-President-at-large, Rev. Anna Howard Shaw, was authorized to bring this request of the Council officially before the National Convention of the W.C.T.U., convening in Buffalo, N.Y.

On motion of Mrs. Robbins, Rev. Anna Howard Shaw was made a fraternal delegate from the Council to the W.C.T.U. Convention; and was instructed to present the formal greetings of the Council.

Mrs. Sewall, in the absence of the chairman of the committee, Rev. Anna Garlin Spencer, submitted the following report of the Committee on

BASIS OF REPRESENTATION FOR SECTIONAL ORGANIZATIONS
AND COUNCILS.

That Article IV. of the Constitution be amended by the insertion of the following two sections, which shall be numbered 5 and 6.

Section 5. Wherever a Council shall be organized embracing the State organizations of two or more adjacent States, it may be admitted to the National Council of Women on the following conditions, viz.: by the payment of a triennial fee of sixty dollars, one third of which may be paid each year. Such a sectional council shall be represented

by its president in the upper house and by one delegate in the lower house at every triennial meeting of the National Council of Women.

Section 6. That organizations of women whose membership includes women from a section of the country embracing two or more States, may be admitted to the National Council on the following conditions, viz.: By the payment of a triennial fee of forty-five dollars, and such sectional organization shall be represented by its president, or by a proxy of its president, in each triennial meeting. Its representatives shall sit in the upper house.

Respectfully submitted,

(Signed)

ANNA GARLIN SPENCER, *Chairman*.

MAY WRIGHT SEWALL.

LOUISE BARNUM ROBBINS.

A letter of suggestions from Mrs. Mary Lowe Dickinson in regard to the defects in the present constitution of the Council was then read.

Mrs. Sewall spoke of the standing orders, prepared and sent out by the Countess of Aberdeen, President of the International Council, and moved that action be deferred to the Executive Session of the Council of 1898. [Carried.]

On motion of Miss Anthony it was voted that out of the balance in the hands of the Treasurer *pro tem.* \$200 be paid to Rachel Foster Avery upon the debt of \$400 which the Council owed her.

On motion of Miss Anthony, the Treasurer *pro tem.* was instructed to send Mary Lowe Dickinson \$100 on account of the debt of \$1,000 due her by the Council.

On motion of Mrs. Sewall, the balance in the hands of the Treasurer *pro tem.* was ordered sent by her to the Treasurer, Mrs. Hannah J. Bailey, with an itemized statement.

On motion of Mrs. Sewall it was voted: "That hereafter all bills incurred by any officer or chairman of any committee of the Council (except bills for clerical help covered by appropriation voted by the Executive Committee) shall be sent to the President for her signature, before being forwarded to the Treasurer for payment, and that the Treasurer shall make to the President a monthly report of all moneys received and expended."

On motion of Mrs. Sewall, seconded by Mrs. Robbins, the following resolution was adopted: —

Resolved, That the general officers shall issue an address to the women of the United States. A copy of the proposed address shall be sent to the presidents of all national organizations, of all Local Councils affiliated with the

National Council, and to members of the President's Cabinet for suggestion and criticism, before it is published.

On motion the invitations from the Commercial Club of Omaha and the Woman's Department of the Trans-Mississippi and International Exposition, to hold the annual meeting of the Council for 1898 in Omaha, during the Exposition, were accepted, and the officers were empowered to set the dates for the meeting.

Mrs. Avery asked whether a vote was now necessary to postpone the next triennial until 1899. The Vice-President stated that the vote on this question taken by correspondence with the Executive Committee had been unanimous for such postponement. Mrs. Sewall, however, moved, that this executive meeting of the Council approves of the postponement of the next triennial arranged for through the correspondence of the general officers with the members of the Executive Committee some months ago. Passed.

Mrs. Sewall read her report as Secretary of the Department of Foreign Relations, which was enthusiastically received.

On motion of Mrs. Avery, seconded by Miss Anthony, the recommendations sent out to National Councils by the Countess of Aberdeen, President of the International Council of Women, were ordered to be printed, and to be sent out to the members of the Council.

On motion of Mrs. Avery, seconded by Miss Anthony, the President was empowered to appoint the delegate from the Council to the business meeting of the International Council of Women, to be held in London in 1898.

On motion of Miss Anthony, the amendments to the constitution of the International Council of Women, suggested by the officers of that Council, were ordered to be printed and circulated for the information of the National Council of Women of the United States.

The Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. Robbins, reported having printed the minutes of the business meetings of the Council from its formation in 1888, in a preliminary pamphlet, for this meeting, in order that the members of the Executive Committee might have at hand a history of all the business transacted by the Council. That this work had been done upon the recommendation, and with the approval of President Dickinson, and upon the earnest request of Mrs. Sewall. That she herself considered that there was absolute need of the minutes being printed, and that she had cheerfully performed the onerous work of editing, etc.

That she had also aimed to make the work a history of the Council by incorporating all the documents which had been issued from time

to time; that she had entitled it "The History and Minutes of the National Council of Women"; that the minutes of the Boston meeting were not in this preliminary copy, as the printers had not had time to include them and get the copies ready for this meeting; that the minutes of the Boston meeting and of this meeting included would make the work complete to date.

Mrs. Robbins, in submitting this report, desired instructions from the Executive Committee before proceeding with the publication of the complete work.

Mrs. Sewall stated that she had urged Mrs. Robbins to do this work, but Mrs. Robbins deserved all the credit for the work and the great amount of labor involved.

On motion of Miss Anthony, Mrs. Robbins was authorized to proceed with the editing and printing of the work as indicated in her report, and high appreciation was expressed of the work she had performed.

On motion of Mrs. Wood, seconded by Mrs. Martin, a committee was appointed to pass upon the minutes of this final session, that they might be included in the volume edited by the Corresponding Secretary. The committee appointed is as follows: May Wright Sewall, Frances M. Swain and Louise Barnum Robbins.

The resignation of the First Recording Secretary, Mrs. Emeline Burlingame Cheney, was submitted, being tendered on account of continued ill health, and was accepted with deep regret. The Corresponding Secretary was instructed to express by letter to Mrs. Cheney the regret of the Council that illness compelled her to resign.

Mrs. Frances Stewart Mosher, Hillsdale, Mich., was unanimously elected First Recording Secretary, to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Mrs. Cheney.

Mrs. Sewall presented the following resolutions prepared by Rev. Anna Garlin Spencer, and moved their adoption:

RESOLUTIONS ON THE EQUAL STANDARD OF SOCIAL PURITY.

Resolved, That the National Council of Women of the United States, in executive session assembled, Oct. 27, 1897, in Nashville, Tenn., affirms its allegiance to one equal law of purity for both sexes, and that it repudiates, as blasphemous, alike to the dignity of manhood and the divine law of righteousness, the doctrine that unchastity is a necessity to be legally provided for and socially condoned in the case of any class of men in any circumstances or conditions: and further

Resolved, That this Council views with anxious solicitude the partial lowering of this standard on the part of women highly influential in literature,

science, and even philanthropy, as evidenced in the recent agitation in England in respect to the reintroduction into India of the legalization of vice for the supposed benefit of the British soldiers.

Resolved, That the National Council of Women of the United States constitutes these resolutions a humble but earnest appeal to Her Majesty, the Queen of England and Empress of India, that she, whose Jubilee celebration evoked world-wide and reverential recognition of her own domestic virtue and its influence in elevating Court morality throughout Christendom, will use her great power to help in preventing the social degradation of the poorest and weakest and most ignorant woman in all her vast dominion, and will seek to inspire in the soldiers of Her Majesty's Army that higher knighthood whose "strength is as the strength of ten because its heart is pure."

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be sent to the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and such other organizations as are pledged especially to work for social purity, and that a copy be transmitted through the proper sources to Her Majesty, Queen Victoria, together with a statement of the work and scope of this body.

These resolutions were adopted by a unanimous vote. On another motion the Secretary was instructed to send a copy of these resolutions to Queen Victoria; also to the National organizations and Local Councils affiliated with the National Council, urging them to bring the matter before their organizations for discussion and adoption.

Mrs. Avery, as Recording Secretary *pro tem.*, was instructed to continue her services until the minutes of this session were completed and placed in the hands of the newly-elected Recording Secretary; a copy also to be sent to the President and one to the Corresponding Secretary.

Moved by Miss Anthony, seconded by Mrs. Avery, that a Committee on Finance be elected to raise before Jan. 1, 1898, sufficient money to pay the remaining debt of the Council (\$900.00 to Mrs. Dickinson and \$200.00 to Mrs. Avery), and to assure the President \$1,000.00 for the coming year, for clerical help in her office. Carried.

Whereupon Mrs. Sewall stated that she wished it understood that if such an amount was raised for clerical help in her office, she should share it with the Corresponding Secretary for clerical help in that office.

The following Committee on Finance was elected: Mrs. Emma R. Wallace, Chairman, Chicago, Ill.; Mrs. Louise Barnum Robbins, Adrian, Mich.; Miss Susan B. Anthony, Rochester, N.Y.; Mrs. Annie White Johnson, Chicago, Ill.; Mrs. Anne Jarrett Wood, Quincy, Ill.

On motion of Mrs. Robbins, seconded by Mrs. Sherwood, it was voted that a Committee on Peace and International Arbitration be

added to the list of standing committees and that the general officers be authorized to appoint the members of said committee.

Mrs. Sherwood asked that the meeting consider the desirability of adopting a badge which may be worn by all members of organizations belonging to the National Council of Women.

In this connection it was voted that the President be authorized to appoint a committee charged with the work of securing a design for such a badge, with the distinct understanding that the badge design shall include the seal and motto of the Council.

On motion of Mrs. Avery, Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, the following portion of the address made by the Vice-President, in closing the public sessions of the Council at the Woman's Building on the Exposition grounds, was adopted, as expressing the thanks and appreciation of the Council for the hospitality of the Woman's Board of the Tennessee Centennial and International Exposition.

THANKS OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN TO THE WOMAN'S BOARD
OF THE TENNESSEE CENTENNIAL AND INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION.

"I want to say in the closing session of this Council how glad we are we came. Our welcome was most royal, and of all the women on earth who have ever served us women, no body of women have ever been served with greater pleasure and joy, kindness and happiness in the face of the server, than have we women of the National Council by this most estimable Board of women who have been the hostesses of this meeting. But before I close I want to speak of one thing which has given me the greatest pleasure and the best and warmest feelings towards you, and that is, the joy you have taken in making Miss Anthony comfortable and looking after her pleasure. When I went home to the hotel last night she said, "What do you suppose those dear women did? They not only took me out of the building yesterday and brought me into their little parlor and gave me such a nice little lunch, but they wouldn't let me go home alone." So that we have everything to thank you for; for your generous and more than generous kindness to us as an association. And more than that, for the harmonious feeling, the deep interest in our work, and the hope that that bond which now unites us may draw us more and more together, until by and by the sweet tones of the Southern voice will be heard as frequently upon the floor of the National Council of Women, as the more rugged tones of the voice of the Northern women."

Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery was instructed to forward this at once to the meeting of the Woman's Board called for Thursday morning, October 28, and stated that she had arranged with Miss Mary Bass Temple, Vice-President for East Tennessee, to present this expression of thanks to the Board.

The Vice-President, Rev. Anna Howard Shaw, then vacated the chair and escorted to it the newly-elected President, Mrs. May Wright Sewall.

Mrs. Robbins, Corresponding Secretary, in brief remarks, expressed to the President satisfaction that she had consented to accept the presidency at this trying time, and as an associate officer pledged loyal support to her, and that she should, under her leadership, continue to give to the Council the best service which her ability and health would permit. She bespoke for the President the loyal support of all the officers and members of the Council.

The President feelingly thanked Mrs. Robbins and said that she should rely upon her associate officers and all members of the Executive Committee for united efforts on behalf of the Council's interests.

On motion of Mrs. Robbins, resolutions of thanks were passed to the Vice-President for her excellent conduct of both the public and business sessions of the Council; to the Committee on Programme for the excellent programme prepared and carried out; and to the Committee on the Press, Mrs. Kate Brownlee Sherwood, Chairman, for indefatigable and efficient work during the week.

Adjourned, *sine die*.

COURTESIES.

The National Council of Women having convened at Nashville, by invitation of the Woman's Board of the Tennessee Centennial and International Exposition, its meetings, both public and executive, were held in the beautiful audience room of the Woman's Building, and committees of the Woman's Board were in attendance at all times, to see that every comfort and convenience were supplied for the conduct of the meetings. Large and enthusiastic audiences graced the public meetings and honored the speakers with appreciative attention, so that the sessions of the Council were a pronounced success. For the freedom and hospitality of the Woman's Building for its meetings, and for all the courtesies extended therewith by the members of the Woman's Board, the National Council was gratefully appreciative.

The social courtesies extended by the Woman's Board of the Tennessee Centennial to the National Council of Women in connection with this meeting in Nashville, stand unexcelled in its history, in point of magnificence and whole-hearted hospitality.

Mr. and Mrs. W. W. Berry gave the initial reception on Monday evening, October 25, when their elegant home was thronged with a brilliant assemblage of several hundred people who vied with each other in gracious courtesies to the guests of honor. The leading members of the Woman's Board and the officials and leading men of the committees of the Tennessee Centennial were present to aid in welcoming the guests.

Another function, as handsome and as delightful in every particular, was given by President and Mrs. John W. Thomas at their hospitable and charming home on Tuesday afternoon, October 26.

On Wednesday afternoon, October 27, the President of the Woman's Board, Mrs. Van Leer Kirkman, entertained in honor of the National Council at her magnificent country place, Oak Hill, and with charming graciousness dispensed the hospitality of her beautiful home.

Upon each of these occasions the women of the National Council found themselves as greatly honored by the superb appointments as they were delightfully entertained by the gracious hospitality. Each occasion was a graceful courtesy and as enjoyable as it was handsome and hospitable.

The Woman's Board also entertained the members of the Council at luncheon on the days of the meetings, at the Café of the Woman's Building, which was also a charming courtesy.

The rare charm of all the courtesies extended by the citizens of Nashville and by the officials of the Centennial Exposition, upon that notable occasion, will abide in the memories of those favored recipients as a perennial fragrance of the beautiful South-land and as a reminder of a unique, delightful and generous hospitality and typical of a cultured, inspiring and patriotic citizenship.

CHAPTER XVIII.

CONSTITUTION
OF THE
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF THE UNITED STATES.

Organized at Washington, D.C., March 31, 1888.

AS REVISED AT THE SECOND TRIENNIAL.

PREAMBLE.

We, women of the United States, sincerely believing that the best good of our homes and nation will be advanced by our own greater unity of thought, sympathy and purpose, and that an organized movement of women will best conserve the highest good of the family and the State, do hereby unite ourselves in a confederation of workers committed to the overthrow of all forms of ignorance and injustice, and to the application of the Golden Rule to society, custom and law.

That we may more successfully prosecute the work, we adopt the following

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.*Name.*

This federation shall be called the National Council of Women of the United States.

ARTICLE II.

General Policy.

This Council is organized in the interest of no one propaganda, and has no power over the organizations which constitute it, beyond that of suggestion and sympathy; therefore, no organization voting to enter this Council shall thereby render itself liable to be interfered with in respect to its complete

organic unity, independence, or methods of work, or be committed to any principle or method of any other organization or to any act or utterance of the Council itself, beyond compliance with the terms of this constitution.

ARTICLE III.

Officers.

SECTION 1. The officers shall be a President, a Vice-President-at-Large, a Corresponding Secretary, a First Recording Secretary, a Second Recording Secretary and a Treasurer. Each President of an organization or of a State Council belonging to the Council shall be *ex officio* Vice-President of the National Council, and the President of the National Council shall be *ex officio* Vice-President of the International Council.

SECTION 2. The six general officers with the *ex officio* Vice-Presidents, or their proxies, one delegate from each organization of national scope or value, and the Presidents of State Councils or their proxies, shall constitute an executive committee, of which nine members shall make a quorum, to control the Council and provide for its general interests.

SECTION 3. The President of the National Council shall not be eligible to re-election for a second consecutive term of office, nor shall the President of any national organization be at the same time President of the National Council.

SECTION 4. The election of the general officers shall take place at a joint business session of the Upper and Lower Councils, only the following named persons voting thereupon: The general officers of the Council, Presidents and delegates of organizations of national scope or value, Presidents of State Councils and Presidents of Local Councils. The nomination shall be by informal ballot, and the three persons having the highest number of votes for any office shall be declared the candidates, and the will of the Council shall be taken by a formal ballot.

ARTICLE IV.

Members.

SECTION 1. Any organization of women, the nature of whose work is satisfactory to the Executive Committee, either as to its undoubtedly national character or national value, may become a member of this Council by its own vote and by the triennial payment of one hundred dollars into the treasury of the National Council not later than three months prior to its triennial meetings.

SECTION 2. The women of any national organization composed of both men and women may associate themselves together within said national organization, and may connect themselves with this Council by electing a woman to represent them on the Executive Committee of the Council, and by the payment of the regular triennial fee into its treasury not later than three months prior to its triennial meetings.

SECTION 3. Any State Council of Women, organized under a constitution harmonious with that of the National Council, may become a member of this Council by its own vote, and the triennial payment of sixty dollars into the treasury of the National Council not later than three months prior to its triennial meetings.

SECTION 4. Any Local Council of Women, organized under a constitution harmonious with that of the National Council, may become a member of this Council by its own vote and the triennial payment of twenty-four dollars into the treasury of the National Council not later than three months prior to its triennial meetings.

ARTICLE V.

Meetings.

SECTION 1. The National Council shall hold triennial public meetings.

SECTION 2. At its public triennials the National Council shall sit as a body, composed of two parts — an Upper Council and a Lower Council.

SECTION 3. The voting members of the Upper Council shall be (a) the President and delegate of each national organization; (b) the President of each State Council, and (c) the following general officers: The President, the Treasurer, the Corresponding Secretary and the First Recording Secretary.

SECTION 4. The voting members of the Lower Council shall be (a) the delegates of State Councils; (b) the Presidents and delegates of Local Councils, and (c) the Vice-President-at-Large and the Second Recording Secretary of the National Council.

SECTION 5. The President of the National Council shall preside over the sessions of the Upper House and over any joint meetings of the two Councils. The Vice-President-at-Large shall preside over the sessions of the Lower Council. In the event of the absence of the Vice-President-at-Large the Lower Council shall elect its presiding officer.

SECTION 6. The Patrons of the National Council shall be eligible to either the Upper or Lower Council, as each may elect, at any triennial session, with power to discuss questions and to serve on all committees, but without a vote.

SECTION 7. The chairmen of all standing committees of this Council or their proxies shall be eligible to the Upper Council, with power to discuss and to serve on all committees, but without a vote.

SECTION 8. The Committee of Arrangements for the triennials shall be composed of the Executive Committee and the Presidents of the Local Councils, or their proxies.

SECTION 9. The Executive Committee shall hold an annual business meeting at such time and place as the general officers shall determine.

ARTICLE VI.

Amendments.

This constitution may be altered or amended by a majority vote of the Council at any triennial meeting, printed notice thereof having been sent to each member of the Executive Committee at least three months prior to such meeting.

CATECHISM
OF THE
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN
OF THE UNITED STATES.

[Revised to date at the close of the executive session at Nashville by Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery and the President.]

1. What is the National Council of Women of the United States?

An organization composed of National Associations, State Councils and Local Councils.

2. What is its object?

(a) To make better known to the general public the magnitude and variety of woman's work for humanity, to the end that public sympathy with the same may be increased, and a more generous public support secured.

(b) To avoid the multiplication of organizations each with some special object, and thus to secure results at less extravagant expenditure of time, money and force.

(c) To bring together women of all lines of work, to the end that each may be more intelligent respecting all others, and consequently more sympathetic with all others.

(d) To give the united influence of all these women to such general lines of work as all can heartily agree upon.

***3. Who are eligible to membership?**

(a) Organizations of women which are national in either scope or value.

(b) The women of national organizations composed of both men and women.

(c) State Councils of Women.

(d) Local Councils of Women.

* An amendment now pending provides for the admission also of Sectional Organizations and Sectional Councils.

4. How many organized bodies now compose the National Council of Women of the United States?

- (a) Seventeen national organizations.
- (b) One State Council.
- (c) Four Local Councils

5. What is the constituency of the National Council?

More than 700,000 women, members of the organizations which form the Council.

6. When and where was the National Council of Women of the United States organized?

At Washington, D.C., March 31, 1888, at the International Council of Women on the fortieth anniversary of the first "Woman's Rights" convention, held in Seneca Falls, N.Y., in 1848.

7. How many and what lines of work are represented by the organizations now forming the Council?

Seven: Religious, educational, industrial, professional, social reform, moral reform, and civic reform.

8. Was the National Council formed to further temperance or woman suffrage?

The National Council was not formed to promote either of these causes, or any other one cause already promoted by a specific organization.

9. Can it in any possible way be made to do so?

No. Each organization enrolled has two votes, no matter how large or how small its individual membership. The Council can no more be committed to temperance or woman suffrage than it can be committed to the tenets of the Free Baptist Church or to those of the Republican party, because the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Free Baptist Church and the Woman's Republican Association of the United States are members of the Council.

10. Does not a large organization have more votes in the National Council than a small one?

No. Just as each of the United States, regardless of size or population, has two votes in the Senate of the United States, so each member (organization) of the National Council has two votes in its deliberations.

11. In what way is an organization benefited by entering the Council?

(a) Chiefly through bringing its work before much larger audiences than it can do working alone. The public meetings of each organization attract the attention of only those interested in its objects, while the triennial meetings of the Council bring together audiences composed of most intelligent and devoted women working along all lines.

(b) The newspapers, through the Associated Press, give immensely larger reports of Council meetings than of the meetings of single organizations.

12. How often does the National Council meet?

Triennially for public meetings; annually for business, when public sessions also are held.

13. What kind of business does the Council transact annually?

Its Executive Committee takes action upon the lines of general work above specified, and the year before the triennial meeting, in connection with the Committee of Arrangements (of which the Executive Committee is a part), arranges for the sessions of the triennial.

14. What are the lines of general work of the National Council of Women of the United States?

(I.) **EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK**; to secure a law requiring our national government to make no distinction of sex in the payment of its employees.

(II.) **DIVORCE REFORM**; to secure the representation of women upon all commissions working to change existing divorce and marriage laws in the different States.

(III.) **DRESS**; to promote study for the hygienic and æsthetic improvement of woman's dress, and to arouse public sentiment in favor of greater attention to health, ease and beauty therein.

(IV.) **EDUCATION IN CITIZENSHIP**; to introduce into the schools of the land, public and private, sound and honest instruction in general as well as in United States history, in Civil Government and especially in civic duty.

(V.) **DOMESTIC SCIENCE**; to study the sociological questions affecting domestic life, and to diffuse the results of such studies.

(VI.) **PEACE AND ARBITRATION**; to work to secure the adoption of the international peace flag by all organizations of women, and to assist, by all means in its power, the causes of social peace and international arbitration.

(VII.) **DOMESTIC RELATIONS UNDER THE LAW** (Scope of work not yet defined).

(VIII.) **SOCIAL PURITY** (Scope and method of work not yet defined).*

15. Has the National Council ever officially expressed itself upon other subjects?

Yes, it has passed resolutions in favor of:

(a) Equal educational advantages for men and women, including the admission of women to all existing institutions of learning.

* Committee Catechisms setting forth the work already done by each of these Committees and the work which each now has in hand can be had upon application to the Corresponding Secretary of the Council or to the chairman of any committee.

(b) The provision of equal opportunities for industrial training for boys and girls.

(c) The admission of women to equality with men in the work of the church of whatever denomination.

16. Does the National Council interfere with the special lines of work of the organizations which are enrolled in it?

"The Council . . . has no power over the organizations which constitute it, beyond that of suggestion and sympathy; therefore, no society voting to enter this Council shall thereby render itself liable to be interfered with in respect to its complete organic unity, independence or method of work." (Article II. of the Constitution of the National Council of Women.)

17. What are State Councils of Women?

They are Councils composed of

- (a) State organizations of women.
- (b) The women of State organizations composed of men and women.
- (c) Representatives of Local Councils within the State.

18. What relation do State Councils bear to the National Council?

The constitution of the National Council provides that at its triennial meetings the Council shall sit in two Houses. The president of each affiliated State Council is a member of the Upper Council (or House) in which originate all measures relating to national work. The one delegate, allowed to each State Council, sits in the Lower Council (or House) in which originate all measures relating to local interests. Thus the State Council becomes a link between the National organizations in the Upper Council (or House) and the Local Councils in the Lower Council (or House).

19. What are Local Councils of Women?

Organizations of certain cities, which bear the same relation to the city associations that the National Council bears to national associations.

20. What relation do Local Councils bear to the National Council?

The president and the delegate of each affiliated Local Council are members of the Lower Council (or House) at the triennial meetings of the National Council and are also eligible to participate in the annual executive sessions of the National Council.

21. What part do the National organizations belonging to the Council have in its triennial meetings?

(a) Both the president and the delegate of each affiliated national organization are members of the Upper Council (or House), where they may introduce and discuss motions and resolutions and vote upon all questions presented.

(b) Besides this an opportunity is provided for each organization to present at a public session its own special line of work.

22. To what are the public sessions of the triennial meetings devoted?

To the discussion of questions of general interest in the lines of work represented by the members of the Council.

23. To whom are the business sessions of the triennial meetings open?

(a) To the president and one representative from each of the National Organizations and from each State and Local Council constituting the National Council.

(b) To the general officers of the National Council.

(c) To members of the Cabinet.

(d) To the Patrons.

*(e) To the members of all standing committees.

24. Are organizations not affiliated with the National Council invited to present reports of work in the triennial meetings?

Hereafter they will be invited only to send fraternal delegates with greetings.

25. When and where have triennials of the National Council been held?

The first triennial was held in Washington, D.C., Feb. 22 to 25 (inclusive), 1891.

** The second triennial was held in Washington, D.C., February 17 to March 2 (inclusive), 1895.

26. When and where is the next triennial meeting of the Council to be held?

† It will be held during the winter of 1899 at Washington, D.C.

† 27. When and where have executive sessions of the National Council been held?

(1) At Indianapolis, Ind., May 30, 1891.

(2) At Chicago, Ill., May 9 and 10, 1892.

(3) At Chicago, Ill., Dec. 14 and 15, 1892.

(4) At Chicago, Ill., May 22, 1893.

(5) At Philadelphia, Pa., May 7 and 8, 1894.

(6) At Atlanta, Ga., Oct. 7 to 12 (inclusive), 1895.

(7) At Boston, Mass., Dec. 2 to 4 (inclusive), 1896.

(8) At Nashville, Tenn., Oct. 25 to 27 (inclusive), 1897.

*(I.) The members of standing committees of the Council may propose motions, participate in the discussions, serve on committees, etc., but may not vote.

(II.) The officers of the International Council of Women, of which the National Council is a part; delegates from National Councils of other countries; the fraternal delegates from national organizations not in the Council; annual contributors and the members of all organizations in the National Council may be present as witnesses of the proceedings.

** The second triennial (due in 1894) was postponed one year because of work done by the National Council for the Congress of Representative Women in Chicago in 1893.

† The postponement of the third triennial (due in 1898) to 1899 is caused by the long illness and consequent resignation of the President, Mary Lowe Dickinson.

† The next executive session of the National Council will be held at Omaha, Neb., in the fourth week of October, 1898, under the auspices of the Trans-Mississippi and International Exposition.

28. Have any other meetings been held under the auspices of the National Council?

(1) The National Council held a Department Congress in the World's Congress of Representative Women, May 16, 1893, at Chicago, Ill.

(2) The National Council convened a meeting in celebration of the eightieth birthday of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Nov. 12, 1895, in New York City

29. Is the National Council Idea confined to the United States of America?

No. Since the organization of the National Council of Women of the United States in 1888, National Councils have been formed in France, Belgium, Switzerland, Canada, Germany, New Zealand, New South Wales, Sweden and Great Britain. Those of the first three countries above enumerated were organized prior to 1893.

The Council of Canada, now including twenty-two local Councils and several national societies, was organized in 1893; that of Germany, composed of sixty-five federated societies, in 1894; those of New Zealand, New South Wales and Sweden in 1896; that of Great Britain in 1897. In Finland, Denmark, Holland and Italy, Councils are now forming; the President of the International Council has received word that steps have been taken in Hawaii towards forming a National Council there; and the King of Siam has, through a Royal Commissioner of that country, officially communicated to the President of the National Council of the United States (who is Vice-President-at-Large of the International Council of Women) his desire that a Council of Women be organized in his country.

30. How does the National Council defray its expenses?

By fees received from the National Organizations, the State Councils and the Local Councils composing it; by fees from Patrons and Annual Contributors; by subscriptions and bequests.

31. Can an individual become a member of the National Council?

No. Its members are organizations. Individuals, however, may become

(a) Patrons of the Council.

(b) Annual contributors.

32. Who may become a Patron?

Any one nominated by a member of the Board of General Officers, may, upon payment of one hundred dollars (\$100.00), become a Patron.

33. What are the privileges of a Patron?

A Patron may attend all meetings of the Council, including executive sessions; may introduce resolutions and motions; may join in all discussions; and may serve on all committees, standing and special; but may not have a vote. Patrons are also entitled to receive all printed reports of proceedings of the Council. The names of the Patrons appear on all printed documents of the Council immediately after those of the officers.

34. Who may become annual contributors?

Those who pay into the Council treasury not less than five dollars (\$5.00) yearly.

35. What are the privileges of annual contributors?

(a) They receive all reports published by the Council during the term of their enrollment.

(b) They enjoy the privilege of sitting in the executive sessions of the Council as observers so long as they continue to contribute annually not less than five dollars (\$5.00) to the support of the Council; and during the same period they are entitled to reserved seats at all public meetings held anywhere under the auspices of the National Council.*

36. What is the membership fee for a National organization?

One hundred dollars (\$100.00), payable every three years. This may be paid in one sum, or in annual installments of one-third of the entire fee each. The whole fee must be in the treasury of the National Council at least three months prior to its triennial convention.

37. What is the membership fee for a State Council?

Sixty dollars (\$60.00), payable every three years. This may be paid in one sum, or in annual installments of one-third of the entire fee each. The whole fee must be in the treasury of the National Council at least three months prior to its triennial convention.

38. What is the membership fee for a Local Council?

Twenty-four dollars (\$24.00), payable every three years. This may be paid in one sum, or in annual installments of one-third of the entire fee each. The whole fee must be in the treasury of the National Council at least three months prior to its triennial convention.

39. Are organizations and State and Local Councils which are members of the National Council subject to assessment?

No; there can be no assessments made for or by the National Council of Women upon the organizations which form it, or upon Patrons or annual contributors; though all may be invited to subscribe for the prosecution of the work

40. How can an organization whose funds are contributed for a special purpose, pay its fee?

By securing a contribution for this purpose from such of its members or its friends as may be interested in thus broadening its relations and influence.

* As the executive sessions of the National Council bring together the leaders of so many diverse forms of philanthropy and reform, their discussions are of inestimable advantage to women working for similar causes in their respective communities.

41. Where may further information respecting the National Council be found?

* (a) In a volume entitled "Transactions of the National Council of Women of the United States," edited by Rachel Foster Avery; printed by J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia, Pa.

(b) In a volume entitled "The History and Minutes of the National Council of Women of the United States," edited by Louise Barnum Robbins; printed by E. B. Stillings & Co., Boston, Mass.

(c) In a work entitled "The World's Congress of Representative Women," edited by May Wright Sewall; printed and published by Rand, McNally & Company, Chicago, Ill.

(d) All of the general officers of the National Council solicit correspondence, and will gladly give information and advice sought in behalf of the diffusion of the Council Idea. Particularly do the President and the Corresponding Secretary, whose addresses will be found on page 335, hold themselves ready to make prompt responses in detail to any question concerning the National Council.

42. What is the relation of a National Council to the International Council?

Each National Council is eligible to become an integral part of the International Council, and in the deliberations of the latter is represented by its president and one delegate.

43. What are briefly the advantages of the Council Idea to womanhood and humanity?

(a) "Greater unity of thought, sympathy and purpose" among women who "find inspiration, breadth and release from limitations" through the respect they learn to feel for work differing radically from their own, yet like it in its purpose for the betterment of the evil conditions under which humanity suffers today.

(b) Simplicity and directness in the application of organized effort to any work that may be undertaken; a conservation of strength and time and an economy in expenditure.

(c) By the means it provides for availing itself of the help of men, it leads to the ultimate union of men and women in all organized endeavor for the improvement of human conditions.

The Council Idea in its Local, State, National and International application is the climax in the organization of the moral forces of society by women.

* The price of each of the first two volumes is one dollar (\$1.00); either or both may be obtained on application to the Corresponding Secretary of the National Council of Women of the United States, whose address is Mrs. Louise Barnum Robbins, 25 Broad St., Adrian, Mich. For the third work apply to the publishers.

OFFICIAL ROSTER
OF THE
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN
OF THE UNITED STATES
AND
LIST OF PATRONS.



OFFICERS.

- MRS. MAY WRIGHT SEWALL, *President*,
633 N. Pennsylvania St., Indianapolis, Ind.
- REV. ANNA HOWARD SHAW, *Vice-President-at-Large*,
1830 Diamond St., Philadelphia, Pa.
- MRS. LOUISE BARNUM ROBBINS, *Corresponding Secretary*,
25 Broad St., Adrian, Mich.
- MRS. FRANCES STEWART MOSHER, *First Recording Secretary*,
Hillsdale College, Hillsdale, Mich.
- MRS. HELEN FINLAY BRISTOL, *Second Recording Secretary*,
1238 Vermont Ave., Quincy, Ill.
- MRS. HANNAH J. BAILEY, *Treasurer*,
Winthrop Centre, Maine.

MEMBERS OF THE CABINET.

- *MRS. MAY WRIGHT SEWALL, *Secretary of the Department of Foreign Relations.*
633 N. Pennsylvania St., Indianapolis, Ind.
- †MRS. FRANCES E. NEWBURY BAGLEY, *Secretary of the Department of Art and Literature.*
Washington Ave., Detroit, Mich.
- MRS. ISABELLA CHARLES DAVIS, *Secretary of the Department of Social Economics.*
156 Fifth Ave., New York City
- MRS. LILLIAN M. N. STEVENS, *Secretary of the Department of Moral Reform.*
Stroudwater, Me.
- MRS. RACHEL FOSTER AVERY, *Secretary of the Department of the Home.*
119 N. Nineteenth St., Philadelphia, Pa.
- MRS. MARY NEWBURY ADAMS, *Secretary of the Department of Religion.*
200 West 11th St., Dubuque, Iowa

MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL.

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

Miss Susan B. Anthony, *President* . . . 17 Madison St., Rochester, N.Y.

NATIONAL WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION.

‡Miss Frances E. Willard, *President* Evanston, Ill.
Mrs. Lillian M. N. Stevens, *Acting President* Stroudwater, Me.

NATIONAL FREE BAPTIST WOMAN'S MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

Mrs. Mary A. Davis, *President* Arlington, R.I.

ILLINOIS INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL FOR GIRLS (National Charter).

Mrs. Emma R. Wallace, *President* . . . 3817 Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

NATIONAL WOMAN'S RELIEF SOCIETY.

Mrs. Zina D. H. Young, *President*, 146 Fourth St., Salt Lake City, Utah.

WIMODAUGHSIS.

Mrs. Anna Sanborn Hamilton, *President*, 1425 New York Ave., N.W.,
Washington, D.C.

YOUNG LADIES' NATIONAL MUTUAL IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION.

Mrs. Elmina S. Taylor, *President*, 158 W. 3d South St., Salt Lake City, Utah.

NATIONAL CHRISTIAN LEAGUE FOR THE PROMOTION OF SOCIAL PURITY.

Mrs. Elizabeth B. Grannis, *President*, 33 E. 22d St., New York City, N.Y.

*Appointed by Mrs. Dickinson. (Successor to May Wright Sewall, made necessary by Mrs. Sewall's election to the presidency, not yet appointed.)

†Obit February 7, 1898. (Successor not yet appointed.)

‡Obit February 17, 1898.

UNIVERSAL PEACE UNION.

Rev. Amanda Deyo, *Representative*, 500 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa.

WOMAN'S REPUBLICAN ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES..

Mrs. J. Ellen Foster, *President* . . 1011 K St., N.W., Washington, D.C.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF LOYAL WOMEN OF AMERICAN LIBERTY.

Mrs. I. C. Manchester, *President*, . . 111 Ocean St., Providence, R.I.

WOMAN'S RELIEF CORPS, Auxilliary to the Grand Army of the Republic.

Mrs. Sarah J. Martin, *National President* Brookfield, Mo.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF WOMEN STENOGRAPHERS.

Miss Gertrude Beeks, *President*, 215 1st Nat. Bank Building, Chicago, Ill.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN.

Mrs. Hannah G. Solomon, *President*, 4406 Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

AMERICAN ANTI-VIVISECTION SOCIETY.

Mrs. Caroline Earle White, *Representative*, 2024 Chestnut St.,
Philadelphia, Pa.

FLORENCE CRITTENTON MISSIONS.

Mrs. Kate Waller Barrett, *Representative*, 2213 Washington Circle,
Washington, D.C.

SUPREME HIVE LADIES OF THE MACCABEES OF THE WORLD.

Mrs. Lillian M. Hollister, *President* . . 130 Locust St., Detroit, Mich.

AFFILIATED STATE COUNCILS.

LOCAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF RHODE ISLAND.

Rev. Anna Garlin Spencer, *President*, 1536 Westminster St.,
Providence, R.I.

AFFILIATED LOCAL COUNCILS.

LOCAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF INDIANAPOLIS, IND.

Mrs. Flora Sullivan Wulschner, *President*, 810 N. Meridian St.,
Indianapolis, Ind.

LOCAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF QUINCY, ILL.

Mrs. Anna L. Parker, *Acting President* N. 5th St., Quincy, Ill.

LOCAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF PORTLAND, ME.

Mrs. Margaret T. W. Merrill, *President* . . 99 Winter St., Portland, Me.

LOCAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF BLOOMINGTON, IND.

Mrs. L. M. Beck, *President* Bloomington, Ind.

* LOCAL COUNCILS ORGANIZED BUT NOT YET AFFILIATED WITH THE
NATIONAL COUNCIL.

LOCAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF MINNAPOLIS, MINN.
LOCAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF MEMPHIS, TENN.
LOCAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF MARYVILLE, TENN.
LOCAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF AKRON, OHIO.
LOCAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF CLEVELAND, OHIO.
LOCAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF NEW ORLEANS, LA.

STANDING COMMITTEES.

Committee on Dress.

MRS. ANNIE WHITE JOHNSON, *Chairman*, 3807 Langley Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Mrs. Emily J. Nolan 4941 Drexel Bvd., Chicago, Ill.
Mrs. Annie Jenness Miller Washington, D.C.
Mrs. Frank Stuart Parker 6640 Honoré St., Englewood, Ill.
Miss Laura Lee 81 Bellingham St., Chelsea, Mass.
Miss Bertha Morris Smith Elmira, N.Y.
Miss Annie L. Sloane San Diego, Cal.
Mrs. Ellen A. Richardson 31 Washington Ave., Winthrop, Mass.
Prof. Ellen M. Hayes Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.
Mrs. Agnes A. Holmes 104 E. 40th St., Chicago, Ill.
Mrs. Ida Evans Haines Lake Bluff, Chicago, Ill.
Mrs. Frances Leiter Mansfield, O.

Committee on Equal Pay for Equal Work.

MISS MARY DESHA, *Chairman*, 1732 21st St. N.W., Washington, D.C.
Mrs. Bessie V. Pettigrew Sioux Falls, S.D.
Mrs. Frances P. Burrows Kalamazoo, Mich.
Miss Katharine Reed 32 Deering St., Portland, Me.
Mrs. Martha Strickland Clark P.O. Box 104, Bear Hills, Col.
Miss Emma M. Gillett 802 F St., Washington, D.C.
Mrs. Jennette M. H. Bradley 349 W. 34th St., New York City.

Committee on Education in Citizenship.

MRS. KATE BROWNLEE SHERWOOD, *Chairman*, Canton, Ohio.
†Miss Frances E. Willard Evanston, Ill.
Mrs. Isabella Charles Davis 156 Fifth Ave., New York City, N.Y.

*These Councils, with others now forming, will doubtless affiliate with the National Council before the annual meeting of the Executive Committee to be held in Omaha, Neb., in October of 1898.

† Obiit Feb. 17, 1898.

- (Other members to be appointed.)

SPECIAL COMMITTEES.

Committee on Organizers.

Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, *Chairman*, . 119 N. Nineteenth St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Mrs. Sarah J. Martin, Brookfield, Mo.
Mrs. Hannah G. Solomon 4406 Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Mrs. Frances M. Swain Bloomington, Ind.
Miss Sarah J. Farmer Elliot, Me.

Committee on Information.

Mrs. May Wright Sewall, *Chairman* . 633 N. Pennsylvania St.,
Indianapolis, Ind.
Mrs. Kate Brownlee Sherwood . . . Canton, O.
Rev. Anna Garlin Spencer Providence, R.I.
Mrs. Mary A. Swift San Francisco, Cal.
Mrs. Baird Nashville, Tenn.

Committee on Finance.

Mrs. Emma R. Wallace, *Chairman* . . 3817 Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Mrs. Louise Barnum Robbins 25 Broad St., Adrian, Mich.
Miss Susan B. Anthony 17 Madison St, Rochester, N Y.
Mrs. Annie White Johnson 3807 Longley Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Mrs. Anne Jarrett Wood Quincy, Ill.

PATRONS.

MRS. MARY M. ADAMS	Madison, Wis.
MRS. MARY NEWBURY ADAMS	Dubuque, Iowa
PROF. RASMUS B. ANDERSON	Madison, Wis.
MISS LUCY E. ANTHONY	Philadelphia, Pa.
MISS MARY S. ANTHONY	Rochester, N.Y.
MISS SUSAN B. ANTHONY	Rochester, N.Y.
MRS. MARY S. ARMSTRONG	Kokomo, Ind.
MRS. RACHEL FOSTER AVERY	Philadelphia, Pa.
*MRS. ROSA MILLER AVERY	Chicago, Ill.
*MRS. FRANCES E. NEWBURY BAGLEY	Detroit, Mich.
MRS. HANNAH J. BAILEY	Winthrop Center, Me.
MR. GEORGE W. BANKER	Ausable Forks, N.Y.
MRS. HENRIETTA M. BANKER	Ausable Forks, N.Y.
MRS. EMMA J. BARTOL	Philadelphia, Pa.
MISS CLARA BARTON	Washington, D.C.
MRS. ALLASEBA M. BLISS	Saginaw, Mich.
MRS. LUCIA EAMES BLOUNT	Georgetown, D.C.
MR. CHARLES W. BOND	Boston, Mass.
MRS. ISABELLA BACON BOND	Boston, Mass.
MISS KATE BOND	New York City, N.Y.
HON. CHARLES C. BONNEY	Chicago, Ill.
MRS. JENNETTE M. H. BRADLEY	New York City, N.Y.
MR. JOHN BRYAN	Cincinnati, Ohio.
MRS. LAURA CURTIS BULLARD	New York City, N.Y.
MRS. MARY I. BYBEE	Indianapolis, Ind.
MR. ALBERT SLO CALDWELL	Memphis, Tenn.
MRS. EMILY S. CHACE	New Greenwich, R.I.
MRS. ELIZABETH HOWARD CHILDS	New York City, N.Y.
*MISS HARRIET COOPER	San Francisco, Cal.
REV. CAROLINE BARTLETT CRANE	Kalamazoo, Mich.
MRS. ISABELLA CHARLES DAVIS	New York City, N.Y.
*MRS. RUTH O. DELAMATER	New York City, N.Y.
MISS LAURA A. DEMERRITTE	Dover, N.H.
MRS. LOUISE E. DEMOREST	New York City, N.Y.
MRS. MARY LOWE DICKINSON	New York City, N.Y.
*MRS. ELLEN BATTELLE DIETRICK	Cambridge, Mass.
MRS. ANNA DORMITZER	New York City, N.Y.
MRS. SARAH L. DOWNS	New York City, N.Y.
MRS. SARAH T. ROGERS-EAVENSON, M.D.	Philadelphia, Pa.
MISS SARAH J. EDDY	Providence, R.I.

*DECEASED.

MRS ADDIE M. H. ELLIS	Chicago, Ill.
MRS. CORNELIA C. FAIRBANKS	Indianapolis, Ind.
MRS J. ELLEN FOSTER	Washington, D.C.
HON. WILLIAM DUDLEY FOULKE	Richmond, Ind.
MRS EMILY GROSS	Chicago, Ill.
MR. SAMUEL E. GROSS	Chicago, Ill.
MRS. ELIZABETH CHERRY HAIRE	Cincinnati, Ohio
MRS. OLIVIA B. HALL	Ann Arbor, Mich.
MRS. PHOEBE A. HEARST	San Francisco, Cal.
MRS. FANNIE I. HELMUTH	New York City, N.Y.
MRS. ESTHER HERRMAN	New York City, N.Y.
MRS EMMA SHAFER HOWARD	Oakland, Cal.
MISS EMILY HOWLAND	Sherwood, N.Y.
REV. IDA C. HULTIN	Moline, Ill.
MRS. GULIELMA M. S. P. JONES	Philadelphia, Pa.
MRS. MARY JAMESON JUDAH	Indianapolis, Ind.
MRS. MARY MORTON KEHEW	Boston, Mass.
MRS. MARY W. KINCAID	San Francisco, Cal.
MISS ISABEL KING	Goya, Argentine Republic, So. America
COL. THOMAS G. LAWLER	Rockford, Ill.
MRS. GERTRUDE STEVENS LEAVITT	Portland, Me.
MRS. KATE BECKWITH LEE	Dowagiac, Mich.
MRS. HANNAH E. LONGSHORE, M.D.	Philadelphia, Pa.
MISS AMANDA M. LOUGEE	Boston, Mass.
MRS. JENNIE DE LA M. LOZIER, M.D.	New York City, N.Y.
MRS. HANNAH S. LUSCUMB	Boston, Mass.
*MRS. CLARA L. MCADOW	Detroit, Mich.
MRS. ETHEL RONDTHALER MCCAIN	Crawfordsville, Ind.
MRS. ELIZABETH C. MCCAULLEY	Wilmington, Del.
MRS. PAULINA T. MERRITT	Indianapolis, Ind.
*MRS. SARAH C. MINK	Watertown, N.Y.
MISS ANNA C. MOTT	Toledo, Ohio
MRS. ANGIE F. NEWMAN	Lincoln, Neb.
MRS. MARY A. NEWTON	New York City, N.Y.
MR. GEORGE FOSTER PEABODY	Brooklyn, N. Y.
MRS. ALICE W. PEIRCE	Indianapolis, Ind.
MRS. ALICE E. PETERS	Columbus, Ohio
MRS. ABBY W. PETTINGILL	Cassadaga, N.Y.
MRS. EMMA F. PETTINGILL	Brooklyn, N.Y.
MRS. LENORE SHERWOOD PYLE	Canton, Ohio
MRS. LOUISE BARNUM ROBBINS	Adrian, Mich.
MRS. FRANCES E. RUSSELL	St. Paul, Minn.
MRS. JENNIE RYAN	Syracuse, N.Y.
MRS. ANNA E. SAFFORD	Cairo, Ill.
MRS. M. OLIVIA SAGE	New York City, N.Y.
MR. FERDINAND SCHUMACHER	Akron, Ohio
MRS. ANNIE C. SEVERANCE	Los Angeles, Cal.
MRS. MAY WRIGHT SEWALL	Indianapolis, Ind.
MR. J. C. SHAFFER	Chicago, Ill.

* DECEASED.

